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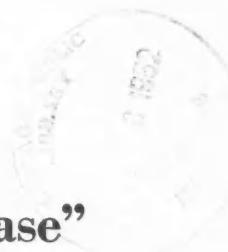
America

October 11, 1952
Vol. 88, Number 2

NATIONAL CATHOLIC WEEKLY REVIEW

SETBACKS FOR PUBLIC HOUSING

JOHN O'GRADY



Press comment on the "Nixon case"

ROBERT C. HARTNETT

George Santayana

A FEATURE "X"

On liberals again

MICHAEL F. MOLONEY

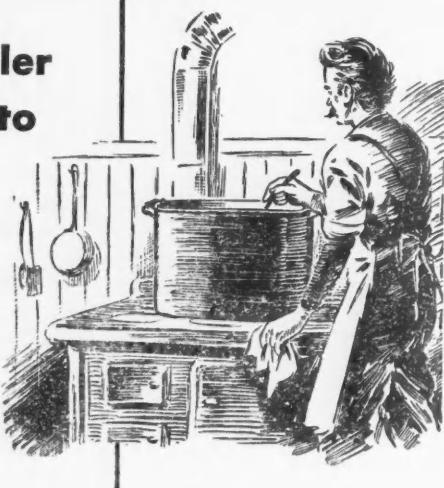
Red land fraud in Central Europe

FELIX MIKULA

TOPICS: Candidates on economy... Stevenson fund...
Caudle's story... Korea before the UN... Catholic women's
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VOTERS TURNED ACCOUNTANTS

The way things were going a couple of weeks ago it looked as if you had to be an amateur accountant to vote intelligently. When the Nixon fund went the way of Channel 4, there was nothing for Governor Stevenson to do but to reveal the donors to *his* campaign fund and make a full accounting. This he did on September 27 when reporters covering his campaign were routed out of bed at 3 A.M. in an Indianapolis hotel to receive the "story."

About a thousand people, members of both political parties, contributed a total of \$172,840 to the Stevenson-for-Governor Committee up to February 18, 1949, six weeks after he had entered upon his gubernatorial duties. Fifty-one gifts were listed as anonymous. After all campaign expenses had been paid, a surplus of \$18,744 remained. The committee turned this sum over to the Governor on February 23, 1949, stating in writing that the money was to be used "for such purposes connected with the office of the Governor as Mr. Stevenson shall determine." This was the fund on which he drew to make disbursements to eight of his official family. They totaled \$18,150. (To be meticulous, Chicago business friends added \$2,900 to this fund after the campaign, so the unexpended balance was \$21,645.)

William I. Flanagan, whose official title was Superintendent of Departmental Records but whose functions were those of press secretary to the Governor, received \$7,900 in eight payments to supplement his State salary of \$6,000 a year. Mr. Flanagan has revealed that he made \$10,886 in his last year in the publicity business in private life. Two other officials received a total of \$2,000 each. The rest were beneficiaries in smaller amounts.

Since nearly all of this money came from the campaign surplus, no individuals could be designated as its donors. The question of "influence" could therefore not arise. In his "fireside chat" on September 29 the Governor declared that he held "no brief for the means I have used [of compensating assistants privately to get "good people"] except that I had no other." All one can say is that until legislatures peg the salaries of public officials, including legislators, somewhere near what it costs them to live, expedients like these are sure to be adopted.

Back in Springfield, Mr. Stevenson stole a march on his opponents by publishing his annual income and tax payments over the past ten years. Senator Sparkman, his running mate, had already given reporters aboard his plane a rather complete picture of his financial condition. He was to publish his income-tax returns last week-end.

Both President Truman and the Douglas subcommittee on ethics in government have asked Congress to require all Federal officials, including members of Congress, getting over \$10,000 a year to disclose their incomes. Perhaps public opinion will now begin to back this reform. It certainly deserves the attention of all organs of opinion-formation.

CURRENT COMMENT

Ending rent controls

On the eve of the rent-control deadline, the Office of Rent Stabilization announced that 1,316 communities, out of a possible 2,400, had petitioned Washington to extend Federal rent controls. Congress, before adjourning last summer, stipulated that all Federal rent controls, save in critical defense areas, would expire September 30 (Am. 9/6, p. 529). It left a loophole, however: wherever local government bodies asked that the controls be continued, the ceilings would remain in force for another seven months, until April 30. In this way Congress hoped to placate landlords, who have been clamoring for an end of rent controls, without at the same time incurring the wrath of tenants. Where local officials failed to act before the September 30 deadline, Congressmen could disclaim all responsibility and suggest that, if any injustice had been done, the people should see their local civic authorities. All told, about 6 million rental units, and 20 million persons, were involved in this legislation. According to the figures released by the Office of Rent Stabilization, local officials secured an extension of controls for 3.9 million housing units. That means continued rent ceilings for nearly 18 million persons. Most of the largest cities—Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, Cleveland—remain covered. Of cities with more than 50,000 population, 73 of a possible 116 voted to continue controls. Among noteworthy exceptions were Detroit, Toledo, Atlanta, New Orleans and Kansas City, Mo. (New York City is covered by a State rent-control program.) Between now and April 30, a careful study should be made of rent movements in the decontrolled areas. If landlords show a tendency to profiteer, the new Congress will have time to act before April 30.

Communist decline: France and Sweden

While the Soviet Communist party was preparing to caulk the cracks in party discipline during the Moscow congress which opened October 5, there were signs that a skilful hand was needed to attend to party weaknesses abroad. In France, André Marty and Charles Tillon, once leading figures in the Resistance, were censured and demoted. The charge was the familiar "deviationism." Marty and Tillon, who organized the Ridgway riots last spring, were identified with the postwar policy of threats, demonstrations and

strikes. That policy has failed. Many workers, more interested in daily bread than political strikes, dropped out of the Red-controlled General Confederation of Labor. Communist party membership has fallen from over 800,000 in 1946 to 500,000 today. During the same period Communist representation in the National Assembly shrank from 177 deputies out of 441 to 96 out of 531. These losses called for a switch in the party line. The Marty-Tillon faction were left holding onto a line that had been disconnected in Moscow. The two "deviationists," who have a considerable following, held out for a couple of weeks before they could be induced, in the interests of "unity," to confess their sins. In Sweden, too, the Communist party shows a growing weakness. The total Communist vote (165,000) in the September 21 national elections was less than half the 1946 figure. Representation in the 230-seat lower house of the Riksdag fell from eight to five. Party membership dropped within six years from 52,000 to 30,000. These losses are attributed in part to a steady economic improvement in Sweden, in part to a mounting impatience with Soviet truculence—the shooting down of an unarmed Swedish military transport by the Russians over neutral Baltic waters and public evidence of Communist espionage.

Austria's Catholic congress

Nearly a quarter of a million people attended the great open-air Mass celebrated by the papal legate, Theodore Cardinal Innitzer, September 14 at the first postwar Austrian Katholikentag, and a million, according to the *Wiener Zeitung*, participated by radio in its deliberations and ceremonies. In his message to the assemblage, the Holy Father urged a revival of religion in the country, "down to the smallest village." He emphasized the importance of the school, the marriage problem and the family, of an active social program. He insisted on an exact understanding of the Church's teaching on the right and functions of private property, so as to swerve "neither to right or left." In crisply worded resolutions adopted at the close, the congress warned sternly against a partisan spirit and the identification of the Church with any particular political party:

Freedom can be won only through unity. Discord and partisan selfishness are a serious danger

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*Editor-in-Chief: ROBERT C. HARTNETT
Managing Editor: CHARLES KEENAN
Literary Editor: HAROLD C. GARDINER*

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GORDON F. GEORGE, WILFRID PARSONS, ALLAN P. FARRELL
Editorial Office: 329 W. 108TH STREET, NEW YORK 25, N. Y.*

*Business Office: 70 EAST 45TH STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
Business Manager and Treasurer: JOSEPH C. MULHERN*

*Circulation Manager: MR. ARTHUR E. CULLEN
Advertising Manager: MISS JANE VLYMEN*

for the existence and future of Austria. We Catholics pledge ourselves to cooperation with all persons of good will . . . Away with yesterday's barricades!

The state belongs to no one party. Hence the parties cannot divide the state between them. We Catholics demand recognition of character and of accomplishment regardless of party membership or patronage. In this way we can strengthen confidence in the state.

For the Church, the congress demanded full, juridically recognized freedom, maintenance of the existing Concordat with the Holy See, and abolition of compulsory civil marriage. For everybody, it urged plenty of hard work and saving. The Vienna Katholikentag marked a turning point in the history of Austria and in the history of the universal Church. American Catholics will commend their Austrian brethren for their courage under tremendous difficulties, and for their zeal and farsighted spirit.

Austria: final run-around?

The West has come to the parting of the ways with Russia on Austria. The Big Three had yielded to four Russian demands on September 5, in the hope of getting approval for an abbreviated treaty to supplant the long treaty that has been hanging fire since 1947. The four concessions dealt with free elections, human rights and basic freedoms, the elimination of nazism and control of Austria's armed forces. On September 28, the USSR declared that even these concessions are not enough. That means the end of the line. The West cannot in conscience yield another inch. All that is left is the appeal to world opinion, which will be made before the UN General Assembly on the initiative of Brazil. Meantime, the West is reported to be increasing its garrisons in Austria to balance the more than 43,000 Red troops in the Russian zone. As the stalemate persists, the temptation will grow for the West to include Austria in its defense planning. That will put pressure on Austria to sign a separate treaty with the West, after the German example. The Austrian Government has said that it is adamantly opposed to such a move, which would partition the country. Under the circumstances, the continuation of the present Four-Power occupation seems the only solution. If it is irksome to the West and unfair to Austria, it is also a standing indictment of Soviet malice.

880,000 wards of the UN

Despite organized relief programs, the plight of the 880,000 refugees from Arab Palestine remains as tragic as ever. In a report to the General Assembly issued September 28 the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Middle East spoke pessimistically. The most dangerous aspect of the refugee problem has been the creation of a "professional refugee mentality" on the part of these Arabs who have lost both home and fortune as a result of the Palestine war. Said the report:

The presence of refugees in host countries is more than the measurable economic waste of manpower and economic potential. The intangible waste in terms of lost pride, emotional conflict and hopelessness cannot be measured, nor can the potential danger to the safety and security of the Middle East be adequately assessed without taking into account the existence of these factors.

What can be measured, however, is the economic blight inflicted on almost the entire Middle East by these wards of the UN. The refugees have glutted the labor market and forced down wages. In Lebanon many Palestine Arabs find only seasonal work in the fields and accept low pay, even by Middle Eastern standards. In Jordan there are so many refugees (470,000) that every third person is on an agency-relief list. During the past four years the UN has responded generously in terms of philanthropic aid for these unfortunates. In terms of intelligent determination to solve their problem, however, it has failed. Repatriation is now impossible. But the Arab countries can eventually absorb these outcasts and without too much trouble. The UN's job is to arrange for this solution.

Dread dilemma, grim gamble

Difficult indeed, fellow Americans, (as we might imagine Cicero saying) difficult indeed is the position in which a leering Fate has placed us. Adopted Manhattanites as we are, how can we take sides between our compatriots of the Bronx and of Brooklyn in the internecine strife raging upon the plateaus of Ebbets Field and the Yankee Stadium during these melancholy days of Indian summer? Would that these strivings of race against race and neighbor against neighbor could be curbed within the bonds of civic brotherhood! To what unworthy lengths have we not gone, fellow Americans! Behold, a senior citizen who glories in the cognomen "Professor" craftily orders "Chief" Reynolds, the noblest of all the noble race of American Indians, to endanger the lives and limbs of his fellow-townspeople by mightily hurling the lethal horsehide sphere past their frightened frames. And the wily pilot Charles Dressen, whose lips first framed those words admired of gods and men, "We won't boot it this time," did he not with malicious cunning command one of *his* minions, another member of a minority race, to "bear down on" the cosmic champions from the rival Borough, the proud warriors known as "Bronx Bombers"? Has this "land of the free and home of the brave" disavowed all care for the safety of passersby on the bomb-wrecked ruins of Bedford Avenue? A wise man, in very truth, knows not which is worse—the wanton exploitation of youths like Mickey Mantle or the cruel exposure to the enemy of aging gladiators like Joannes Mize. How long, O lords of baseball, will you abuse our patience? (Note: For the sake of peace on the staff, we pick the Yankees, despite their handcuffing in game No. 1 by the Dodgers' rookie pitcher, Joe Black.)

THE SAGA OF T. LAMAR CAUDLE

To hear Theron Lamar Caudle tell it, his story is that of the country lawyer innocently caught up in Washington's cutthroat political life. Mr. Caudle, of course, is the former Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Justice Department's Tax Division who was fired last November by President Truman for "activities incompatible with his office" (AM. 12/15/51, p. 300).

While testifying September 18 before a House Judiciary subcommittee currently investigating the Justice Department, Mr. Caudle stated that he had come to the capital in 1945 at former Attorney General Tom Clark's invitation "on the tail of a hurricane." He soon discovered, however, how dangerous to one's political health was the climate of official Washington and that those who parade Assistant Attorney Generals at their cocktail parties eventually request favors.

Caudle's list of those who pressured him to quash tax fraud cases is a formidable one. It includes Senators Harley M. Kilgore (D., W. Va.), William Langer (R., N. D.), Scott Lucas (D., Ill.), Claude Pepper (D., Fla.) and Representatives Robert L. Doughton (D., N. C.) and Lansdale Sasscer (D., Md.). From the White House came the President's Assistant David Niles (recently deceased) and Presidential Secretary Matthew J. Connelly. Mr. Caudle took pains to imply that their pressure was not improper. Yet one wonders at the extreme naïveté of a public prosecutor (in his own words, "proud to talk over his tax cases with Congressmen") who would regard such pressure as anything but improper.

Caudle's testimony involved more than Congressmen in the suspicious goings on in the Justice Department. When he came to Washington (first to head the Department's Criminal Division), his superior, now Supreme Court Justice Tom Clark, took over the prosecution of four or five cases himself. One of them was the notorious *Amerasia* case. In 1946 Caudle had ordered the investigation of an alleged Kansas City vote fraud. He dropped it because he thought a full-scale inquiry "would have cost a lot of money." Later, when a Senate Committee began investigating the case, Clark refused to let Caudle testify, though he was the official most familiar with it. The next step for the House subcommittee may be to call in Justice Clark. His apparent solicitude lest anything rotten be turned up in Missouri needs explaining.

As for Caudle himself, when he finished his testimony last fall before the House Ways and Means subcommittee, Rep. Cecil R. King (D., Cal.) asserted that he had done irreparable harm to his Government. Rep. Frank Chelf (D., Ky.), heading the current investigation, has been disposed to treat him a little more kindly. Mr. Caudle, said Chelf, had been "indiscreet . . . and a pliant conformer to the peculiar moral climate of Washington." This verdict may explain but it does not excuse Caudle's cultivated friendships with persons involved in alleged tax frauds, Mrs. Caudle's mink coat and a suspicious \$5,000 commission on an airplane sale, arranged by a "friend" in tax trouble.

WASHINGTON FRONT

When Sen. Paul Douglas and a committee of fellow Senators produced a detailed and in many respects excellent report on ethical standards in government last year, they were given a neat brushoff. Yet reading their report today one might think it had been written with the current furor over the Nixon and Stevenson funds clearly in mind. It merits re-reading by all closely interested in this whole subject and could well suggest the way to needed legislation in the new session of Congress. It is almost certain, indeed, that some of its proposals will be submitted as bills and pressed with more reason and vigor than before.

This report recognizes that, for the Congressman, "financial pressure does not end with the campaign." It agrees that most Congressmen find it necessary to supplement their salary. Of those members who are lawyers and who accept retainers for mere perfunctory service, it asks: "Are they being paid for their influence and to influence their perspective? Men who pay legal retainers expect to get something for their money." Of members who pick up a fast \$500 for a speech, the report asks: "At what point does a large fee become payment for something more than the speech?" It raises the question of what groups members should address—and there just can't be any doubt that some appear before groups interested directly in legislation and take flattering stipends from them.

"If a member receives a considerable portion of his income through retainers, fees or stipends from one or a few clearly related organizations," the report asks, "has he not jeopardized his ability to represent the public?" The report takes up the question of how far a Congressman is to go in serving his constituents—job-hunters, contractors, loan applicants—before Government agencies. T. Lamar Caudle, former Assistant Attorney General, has testified in recent days to the heavy pressure put on him by Congressmen in certain tax prosecutions involving constituents or friends. The report very pertinently raises the question of abuse of constitutional immunity from suits for statements on the floor of Senate or House. It takes a look at the problem of campaign contributions and makes the obvious finding that the Corrupt Practices Act is too full of holes to be effective.

The subcommittee—Senators Aiken, Morse, Humphrey and Neely served with Senator Douglas—proposed establishment of a permanent ethics commission and urged a law requiring all Congressmen and Federal officials receiving \$10,000 or more annually to file reports disclosing income, assets and all securities dealings. When the report was issued, there was some tendency to criticize phases of it for naïveté. But it rates a new looking-over in the light of the "funds" controversy.

CHARLES LUCEY

UNDERSCORINGS

James M. O'Neill, teacher in Brooklyn College, N. Y., and author of *Religion and Education under the Constitution* (1949) and *Catholicism and American Freedom* (1951) was the 1952 recipient, Oct. 4, of the Catholic Action Medal, awarded annually by St. Bonaventure University, Allegany, N. Y. *Catholicism and American Freedom*, a carefully documented study of the "scholarship" of Paul Blanshard's *American Freedom and Catholic Power*, was judged by Rev. Daniel A. Poling, editor of the *Christian Herald* to have "answered" Mr. Blanshard (AM. 7/19, p. 394).

► For the first time, according to an NC dispatch of Sept. 30, Negro students have been accepted in a nursing school in Kentucky—that attached to St. Joseph's Infirmary, Louisville, operated by the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth. For some years the sisters have admitted Negroes to their hospital. They have Negro students in their school of medical technology and in Nazareth College.

► Three proposals to improve the condition of the nation's migrant agricultural workers were advanced by Most Rev. Joseph P. Dougherty, Bishop of Yakima, Wash., at the Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems held Sept. 28-30 in Portland, Ore. These were:

1. Government aid to migrants along the lines laid down in the report of the President's Commission on Migratory Labor. In addition, the Bishop urged Government assistance for education of migrant's families, for housing, relief and medical aid.
2. An educational program sponsored by the Government and reputable labor unions to teach the migrants their right and duty to organize.
3. A more realistic spirit of cooperation between employers and migrant workers.

The 188-page report of the President's Commission is obtainable from the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., for 75 cents.

► A militant fight against the inroads of communism among the poor and dispossessed of India is being waged by the Institutes of St. Joseph. Through the dissemination of cheap Catholic literature, through lectures, the encouragement of cooperatives and trade unions, the Institutes are trying to raise the standard of living of millions of people. Rev. Varghese Chathaparampil, Pattanakad, Shertallay, S. T. C., South India, the director, stresses the need for assistance if the work is to continue.

► The *Don Bosco Bulletin* of Elmira Reformatory, N. Y., asks for Catholic books and magazines for prisoners who, while serving time, "are trying to make time serve them." Address Rt. Rev. Msgr. Francis J. Lane, P. O. Box 500, Elmira, N. Y. C. K.

Catholic women's platform for '53

The National Council of Catholic Women climaxed its Seattle convention by adopting the most enlightened and most comprehensive set of resolutions we have ever seen come out of a Catholic convention.

It is true that convention resolutions, like party platforms, are read by very few. These NCCW resolutions, however, are resolutions in the new manner, drafted by people with talent for pithy expression of profound ideas.

It is the ideas themselves, of course, that console us, concerned as we are with the level of thinking of the Catholic community. These resolutions reveal how wide-ranging are the interests of NCCW and how soundly progressive are the positions it has adopted. With an exception to be noted later, we warmly endorse them.

Among the forty-two resolutions adopted by the 641 official delegates are many treating topics on which Catholic opinion is divided. Invariably NCCW has taken what we consider the sounder position. This is true regarding labor-management relations, price control, race relations and civil rights, housing, human rights, the Genocide Convention and the United Nations.

The narrow nationalism which infects so many Catholic organizations finds no expression in these resolutions. After reaffirming its support of the United Nations, NCCW calls upon qualified Catholics to participate professionally in the various programs of technical assistance to needy nations. To those Catholics who still grumble against "handouts to lazy foreigners" we commend the study of this paragraph:

Technical assistance, land reform, training projects, increased trade, international loans and grants, resettlement projects and other programs can be used to carry out the design of the Father of all, Who in His providence has given the resources of the earth not for the good of the few but that all men through their right use might dwell together in peace and sufficiency.

Especially commendable is the convention's resolution on immigration. Despite a spirited defense of the McCarran-Walter law by Sarah Weadick of the NCWC Immigration Bureau (AM. 10/4), the delegates demand that "Congress further liberalize the present restrictive and discriminatory provisions of the immigration laws." They also urge that "means be devised to use quota numbers remaining unused at the end of the fiscal year for the benefit of citizens of countries with oversubscribed quotas."

This recommendation is at variance with the official NCWC approval which Senator McCarran made so much of while steamrolling his offensive bill through the Senate (AM. 6/28). Since the women's Council is one of the two lay organizations in NCWC, its action may presage a shift in the official NCWC attitude toward the basic immigration law.

EDITORIALS

Our only serious criticism of the NCCW platform is on this resolution:

We urge that the UN be strengthened on a firm basis of natural law, so that it can act with *moral authority* to insure international order with justice for all peoples (emphasis added).

That hardly measures up to the mind of the Holy Father about the ideal peace organization. That must be an organ, as he said on December 24, 1944:

... invested by common consent with supreme power, to whose office it would also pertain to smother in its germinal state any threat of isolated or collective aggression.

Unless the UN is strengthened to that extent, it will not be able to "insure international order." But more about that later. For now, let us register the hope that NCCW will strive strenuously to induce its seven million members to read and study its platform for '53.

Economy as an issue

The high cost of running the Federal Government and the high taxes that result present one campaign issue which can be analyzed quite objectively.

General Eisenhower seems to agree with Senator Taft that the Federal budget should be cut from \$80 billion this year to \$70 billion next year, and to \$60 billion in fiscal 1955.

How does the General plan to effect these economies? He has made it clear that he does not advocate any reduction in subsidies to farmers or in social-security benefits. He has said that there will be no wholesale firing of Federal employes. On August 9, in fact, he came out for higher public-assistance payments to "the old folks."

In Baltimore on September 26 the General discussed "security with solvency." Out of the \$80 billion our Government is spending this year, the General said that nothing could be cut from the \$6 billion in interest charges. "Real savings" could be effected, he thought, in the \$14 billion we are spending for nondefense purposes: "real savings can be made by businesslike practices under a clean administration." In St. Louis on September 20 he had cited unbusinesslike practices in the present Administration. (The *U. S. News & World Report* for October 3 itemizes—in billions—the following nondefense expenditures, which total \$14.4 billion: Veterans, \$4.5; Social Security, \$2.3; Agricultural Aid, \$1.9; Public Workers, \$1.6; Other—general Government costs—\$4.1. It estimates that no savings can be made in the last-named.)

The General thereupon addressed himself to the \$60-billion defense budget. "Here," he said, "is where the largest savings can be made." Among the economy measures he proposed were "a weapons program that is realistic," with inter-service duplications avoided; "simplicity in design," because new weapons rapidly obsolesce; and "a pooling of expert civilian advice." A competent commission should "restudy" the Department of Defense. The National Security Council must be revamped before it can do its policy-making job. How much might be saved through these reforms the General did not estimate.

Governor Stevenson has said that the Taft-Eisenhower budget cuts could be achieved only by weakening our national defense. He said the General wanted more airplanes, but that these would increase, not lessen, defense costs.

At Indianapolis on September 27 the Governor proposed five "rules" for greater efficiency and economy in government. The first was "to get . . . economy-minded civilians in top jobs." Rule two was to give them "the authority to manage their departments efficiently" by implementing the reorganization proposals of the Hoover Commission. Officials who economize should be rewarded.

Rule three is "to improve the machinery for scrutinizing appropriations." He wants a better-staffed Bureau of the Budget, and would like to see the President empowered to veto individual items in money bills, as the Governors of three-fourths of our States can veto them. Rule four is to see that money appropriated, especially for defense, is wisely spent. Rule five is for States and localities to meet more of their needs without recourse to Washington. How much these rules might save can only be guessed by looking to the Governor's record in Illinois.

Since we adopted the policy of "stretching out" our defense program this year, it calls for outlays of \$56 and \$50 billion in the next two years. Whether these or any other expenditures can be substantially reduced is very doubtful. Perhaps several billion can be saved, but hardly more than that.

Bonn still at the crossroads

The death of Kurt Schumacher, fiery West German Socialist leader, has apparently not precipitated the split in the Social Democratic party that was pretty confidently expected and which would have strengthened Chancellor Adenauer's hand in integrating Bonn with the West (cf. AM. 9/6, p. 531 "Schumacher's death; Germany's future").

West German Socialists, under the new leadership of Erich Ollenhauer, have indeed flatly rejected a deal with German Communists which would have wed Socialists and Communists in a "joint workers' policy" of opposition to the Adenauer coalition. They have also adopted a milder tone in opposing the treaties which are aimed at integrating West Germany politically and militarily with the West. Further, and

perhaps most important, they have agreed to postpone debate in the Bundestag on the future of the Saar until Dr. Adenauer lays new proposals on the Saar's future before the French Government. These proposals would recognize the economic ties between the Saar and France, but would demand free elections and liberty for pro-German political parties.

The main lines of Socialist opposition to the Adenauer policy, however, remain unchanged. American foreign policy with regard to West Germany is viewed as wrong. Specifically, Four Power talks on the unity of Germany must be held before Bonn ratifies the treaties that will tie it to the West. On September 24 this Socialist opposition got strong buttressing from the German Trade Union Federation, whose six million members are now pledged to join the Socialists in the fight against Adenauer.

There is, accordingly, still danger that the treaties linking West Germany with the Atlantic alliance will be defeated on second and third reading this fall, and that Chancellor Adenauer's coalition will be unseated in next year's elections. If either or both happen, the dream of a united Europe will go a-glimmering for many a moon.

Meanwhile, a united Europe was threatened from France. Edouard Daladier, boss of the Radical Socialists, the strongest single party in the Government, urged his followers on September 29 to vote against German rearming and for the Big Four parley on German unity. If the party follows his lead, it is almost certain that the National Assembly will reject the European Army Treaty when it comes to a vote this winter.

In Germany, it is the Socialists who are giving an alarming attack of the jitters to those who envision a united, strong and war-free Europe. It is surely a strange phenomenon that a political creed that makes so much of the welfare of the common man and plugs for internationalism should work untiringly to block the common good of the Continent, upon which precisely the welfare of the common man depends.

In France, the Radical Socialists, who are not Socialists but arch-conservatives, play the same role. They, like the German Socialists, are bitten by the bug of nineteenth-century "nationalism." Beyond that, German Socialists and French Radicals have a more lamentable bond of unity—they fear that the Vatican must somehow be behind the Christian Democrats, who are spearheading European unity.

UN Assembly, 7th Session

The General Assembly of the United Nations reconvenes in New York for its annual meeting on October 14, three weeks before our national elections. This means that as the campaigning reaches its crescendo of partisan pleading, great international questions will be thrown open to debate in our midst in quite a different forum. Some members of the UN think that the Assembly's opening should be delayed until after

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November 4. Britain's Foreign Secretary, Anthony Eden, evidently shares that view for it has been announced that he will postpone his arrival until after the elections. France's Foreign Minister, Robert Schuman, will follow the same procedure. But, misgivings or no misgivings, the Assembly will open on schedule.

The present provisional agenda of this, the seventh regular session of the UN's principal representative body, counts 65 items. To these there will have to be added later on the items proposed at the last moment by those members which prefer to hold up their plans until then.

Two Korean items are on the agenda already. These are the reports of the UN Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea and that of the Agent-General for Korean Reconstruction. Although at the moment it is rather the strategic situation in Korea that monopolizes public attention, these two agencies have much to contribute to an over-all solution of the status of Korea.

Among other security items scheduled for discussion should be mentioned the report of the Collective Measures Committee. This is a special body set up in 1950 for the purpose of working out a solution, in terms of the UN Charter, to the frustration caused by the Soviet vetoes in the Security Council. The committee has explored the possibilities for action opened by the Charter's clauses on "collective self-defense" and on "regional arrangements." Its conclusions may furnish the key to future procedures on the Korean question. A report of the Disarmament Commission is also due, and while nothing startling should be anticipated at this session, valuable work has been done towards future agreements on the control of atomic and other weapons.

But security is not the whole story of the General Assembly's coming session. This session continues to reflect the growing political significance of what has come to be called the Asia-Arab bloc. In this group are many newly created states, or at least states that have only recently attained their full independence. They consider it their natural mission to defend the rights of what used to be called the "colonial peoples" against what used to be called the "imperialist powers."

Characteristic is item 63, dealing with Morocco. Morocco's grievance against France, of which Morocco is a protectorate, has been presented jointly by Afghanistan, Burma, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Yemen. Not all of these states are Arab, or even Moslem. What unites them on the issue of Morocco is their common sentiment of hostility to all manifestations of the old colonial policies. An analogous situation exists in the case of Tunisia, another French protectorate.

In the same category should be mentioned the complaint against South Africa, not only over the condition of natives of Indian origin, but over the whole South African discrimination policy. In the realm of human rights the issue of "self-determination" has also

grown in significance, thanks to the Asia-Arab group. The General Assembly will receive from its Economic and Social Council several proposals for defining these rights in an international covenant.

To round out this very summary review of the 65-plus items on the Assembly's agenda, mention should be made of the Arab-Israel feud and the old problem of new members. Twenty-one applications for membership are still pending. A host of proposals in the social and economic field will engage the attention of the delegates. The Assembly has never lacked for work.

Korea before the UN

Though not formally on the agenda, the Korean case will undoubtedly be aired in the UN General Assembly during the forthcoming session. On October 1 Secretary Acheson, contradicting the news reports of the previous day, insisted that the United States had no new proposals to submit to the UN for putting an end to the war. Yet he admitted that we were actually "exploring the situation with a great many delegates." Whatever action the United States will call upon the Assembly to take, Acheson explained, will depend primarily on the situation at the time in the Panmunjom truce talks.

The UN has kept its hands off the Korean question since February, 1951, when it appointed a good-offices committee to work out a cease-fire. It was feared that political intervention by the UN might be the occasion for ventilating conflicting opinions about Korea among its members. Since the truce-stalemate now looks hopeless anyway, the risk of airing conflicting views can hardly impede the truce.

Throwing the case open to the floor, of course, involves other risks. It will open the door to a repetition of all the familiar propaganda tactics of the Communist bloc. The USSR and its satellites will try again to lay the blame for the Korean war on the United States. The USSR will again push for the admission of Red China as a member, a move that may even find support outside the Communist bloc. Finally, if the UN fails to offer any constructive solution to the complex problems surrounding Korea, as it probably will, it will suffer a further loss of prestige as a collective-security organization.

The submission of the Korean question to UN debate could nevertheless have one preponderant advantage. This would be to dispel the widespread assumption that Korea is entirely an American problem. Militarily, for many reasons, the United States has had to assume most of the burden and make most of the decisions. The Republic of Korea, however, was cradled by the UN, which is responsible for defending it against absorption by the Red bloc.

It is therefore up to the General Assembly to vindicate the UN's rights and duties in that area. Asiatics, especially, need to have the real status of the Korean question reassessed.

Setbacks for public housing

John O'Grady

SINCE 1937 approximately 200,000 public housing units have been built in the United States. When the Housing Act of 1949 was passed, those of us who were interested in providing low-cost housing hoped that the number of units to be constructed each year would be greatly expanded. We figured on approximately 125,000 units a year during the years immediately following 1949. No sooner was the Housing Act passed, however, than the representatives of the National Association of Real Estate Boards and the National Association of Home Builders decided to carry the fight against public housing into every local community. This in time showed up the weaknesses of the organizations that were concerned with public housing.

We noticed "improvement associations," as they were frequently called, springing up in every city in the United States. They built their propaganda around fear of the Negro. One of their basic contentions was that the coming of the Negro into a neighborhood would blight that neighborhood. They also contended that low-rent public housing would make home ownership impossible, ignoring the fact that home ownership has been on the increase since public housing began. As evidence to support their contentions, they pointed to the blighted areas where large numbers of Negroes live. They did not, of course, point out that blight did not necessarily follow the Negro migration, but was due basically to the violation of city codes, to the illegal overcrowding of housing units.

When the National Association of Real Estate Boards and the National Association of Home Builders felt that they were strong enough in the various cities, they called for referendum elections on public housing. Friends of public housing were greatly shocked by the setbacks they received in these referendums. They had thought they had aroused sufficient citizen interest to assure support of the housing program, but in about 40 of the 63 cities in which referendums have been held those opposed to public housing have been victorious, though often by very narrow margins. This convinced us that we did not have sufficient grass-roots support in the losing towns.

After the referendums came a serious effort to relieve the cities of the obligations of the contracts they had made with the Federal Government in regard to local housing programs. The opponents of low-rent housing felt that they had only to get a city council to rescind its previous resolution on housing. By this action, they thought, the city would immediately be released from

Monsignor O'Grady, executive secretary of the National Conference of Catholic Charities and former president of the National Council on Family Relations, here discusses briefly the roadblocks thrown in the way of decent housing for our lower-income groups. When he left the presidency of NCFR on Sept. 5, the Council passed a resolution praising highly his concern for economic and social justice.

all its contractual obligations in regard to the building of housing units. Court decisions and the action of Congress in its last session disillusioned them.

The next step of the opponents of low-rent housing was to get the Congress to kill the program by failing to make the necessary appropriations. A move in this direction was begun in earnest in 1950. The Administration requested an appropriation for 75,000 units. After long debate the Congress finally adopted a 50,000-unit program. This year the Administration again recommended 75,000 units. The House Appropriations Committee finally cut it to 25,000 units and on the House floor it was reduced to 5,000 units. When the appropriation bill came to the Senate, that body finally decided to adopt the figure of 45,000 housing units. After representatives of the House and Senate got together to compose the differences in the bill, they settled for 35,000 units. This is all that is available for the next fiscal year, which means that the various cities will have to cut their programs accordingly. For many of the larger cities it will mean a drastic reduction in the number of low-rent housing units to be built.

As we look to the future of low-rent public housing in the United States, we must conclude that the only hope for its continuation on any significant scale is more education on the local neighborhood level. More and more people must be made conscious of its importance for low-income families. More and more people must become conscious of the importance of public housing as a part of an over-all housing and redevelopment program. We cannot keep on clearing slums without provision for the low-income dwellers. Without some public housing, we cannot carry out any program for the conservation of districts that are threatened by blight. Inevitably, some of the units that are occupied by low-income families in these neighborhoods must be cleared. There is no way of rebuilding them except through a public housing authority.

Public housing does not exclude other ways of providing the increase in dwelling units we need. Some may be rebuilt by limited-dividend corporations which will provide housing for middle-income families. Some may be taken care of by cooperative housing. Some may be taken care of by private housing with the aid of loans guaranteed by the Federal Government.

If sufficient decent housing is to be provided for low-income groups, each city and each community must be made to see the need of public housing and its place in an integrated housing program.

Red land fraud in Central Europe

Felix Mikula

A Czechoslovak political refugee explains the strategy which enabled the Communists to win control of Eastern European countries by exploiting their key economic weaknesses. Father Mikula was professor in the Faculty of Divinity of Charles University, Prague. He is now the assistant pastor of St. Mary's Church, Port Arthur, Texas.

WEAK SPOTS in a nation's economy, as the history of the past few years clearly shows, are fertile fields for Communist propagandists. Wherever an oppressed, discontented economic group is found, the comrades are quick to move in, promising "salutary reforms." In too many countries they have achieved their objective—total control of the country. If we of the West really want to check the spread of communism, we must be as alert as Moscow's agents to discover economic weak spots and make a sincere effort to offer a constructive, Christian answer to the problems in question.

In general, we think of Communist activity in connection with industrial labor groups. Agricultural people, we have been inclined to feel, represent a sturdy, independent group, immune to the wiles of Moscow. Yet, many of the Eastern European countries with large farming populations are now under Communist control, to say nothing of rural China. How has this come about? Farmers of Europe are famous for their love of the soil. In the past, most of them clung to their land tenaciously, in spite of back-breaking toil. What were the factors that made enough of them listen to Soviet arguments to allow the Communists to drive a wedge in the agricultural front and pave the way for a violent coup?

I am rather well acquainted with the agricultural conditions that prevailed in Czechoslovakia, the country of my origin. I know also that the condition of small farmers in Poland, Hungary, Austria and other Central European countries was not much different. In these countries the peasants represent a relatively very poor group. For centuries, especially before there was much industrialization, they had no choice but to toil to provide a better living for the other classes. They addressed their "betters" as "Sir."

For many reasons, their back-breaking labor netted them little.

1. The size of the farms, compared with holdings in both Americas, was ridiculously small. Many peasants owned only ten or fifteen acres of fertile soil. That amount of land, it is true, has often provided a good agriculturist and his family with a fair living. Other conditions, however, prevented a decent yield. Often the few acres were widely separated in location. A man's holdings might be divided into eight to fifteen parcels, some of them only about three yards wide, and miles apart. Marking the boundaries were furrows which absorbed a portion of each parcel.

These miniature fields were the result of a traditional practice: each field was divided between all the

children of a family. The great distance between parcels is accounted for by the fact that young farmers married girls from neighboring villages and, with them, inherited their fields. An exchange, to consolidate holdings, was either too expensive or impeded by the conservatism of the peasantry.

2. The Eastern European farmer, in addition to the above handicaps, enjoyed no state aid, as American farmers do through the Department of Agriculture, in the matter of research on combating pests. He had no effective protection against the normal rural disasters which can destroy the fruit of a whole season's labor, right at harvest time—floods, hail, drought, rain and theft.

As though their material hardships were not enough, the country people of Eastern Europe also had their social difficulties. In the cities, for instance, it was "fashionable" to have only one or two children. The country raised most of the children for the nation. But no "family-wage" aid was available. The only way in which a farmer could have increased his income to care for a larger family would have been to ask two or three times as much for his grain as did his neighbor. Clearly that was impossible.

Hope that the children might get an education and pave the way for a better life was practically out of the question. For one thing, the children had to help in the fields. For another, higher education was too expensive, as all higher schools were far from their homes.

For farm women, life was particularly difficult. Homemaking, care of the children, the tasks which women usually cherish most, were to a great extent forbidden luxuries. Rough domestic work, care of the farm animals, labor in the fields, made it necessary for most of them to leave even small babies to the care of their older brothers and sisters.

It was a grim life the farmers of Eastern Europe endured, and there were few opportunities for relaxation to mitigate all the hardships.

DECLINING AFFECTION FOR THE SOIL

Although, as was mentioned before, the affection of the farmer for his land is proverbial, it has its limits. In the past, that affection did keep many a European peasant on the soil, earning less and toiling harder than the other economic groups, and not asking why he should do so. Still, even in the past, many small farmers left Europe to emigrate to the United States—and stayed there. Recently, all farmers have become more realistic. Their celebrated freedom, they figure,

can cost too much and mean too little. Freedom is of value only when it allows a real choice between good and bad, or between good and better. The freedom to choose between getting up at three or at four in the morning, between a diet of potatoes with salt or a meager soup with bread, is not too appealing. Usually we think of farmers as having at least plenty of food. But the food of the Eastern European peasant was poor indeed, since their small harvests had to be sold to get money for taxes, a few clothes, etc.

Under such circumstances affection for the soil was hard to maintain. Not that the farmer said: "Come and take my property; I don't like it any more." Instead, he echoed a popular slogan: "My children must not have as hard a life as I have had. I won't have as many children as my parents, and I shall let them study or choose some other occupation."

The "flight from the country" induced by this attitude had been growing to dangerous proportions for many years before the Second World War, especially since industry offered openings in the towns. "Better to be a porter in Prague than even a rich farmer in the country," was a familiar saying. Daughters of wealthy farmers preferred to marry laborers rather than farmers. "A worker's wife always has some money," they said, "She works less and enjoys more."

A significant proof of this trend was seen during 1925-32, the period of greatest unemployment in Germany, Austria and that part of Czechoslovakia which had been Bohemia. Not enough men were available in those countries to work the land. Many who could have gone to the farms suffered hunger in the cities while farmers from Poland and other parts of Czechoslovakia streamed into their countries.

COMMUNIST ARGUMENTS

For such a situation the Communists had their arguments. I repeat a few of the most telling.

1. A private owner of land is subject to greater risks than other citizens. Hail, storm, fire, theft, may render a whole year's work futile, right before the harvest. A return on a farmer's labor would never be totally lost if a bigger body, the state itself, owned the land and guaranteed the pay. Look at the workers in nationalized industries, or any other employees of the state, who get their salaries regularly, regardless of calamities.

2. What has the private farmer to look forward to? No relaxation, no vacations—nothing but hard work and anxiety. True, his work has not always been equally hard and fruitless, but he has lived in a constant state of worry, eternally on the alert, working all hours. Even at night and on feast days, he must care for the cattle. Under nationalized agriculture, night and day shifts could be introduced.



3. When an independent farmer gets sick, what guarantee has he of support? Under the new plan, he would share in the benefits and the economic protection that are enjoyed by other workers on the collective farm.

4. And what about old age? Under nationalized farming an aged farmer could look forward to a pension.

5. When a farmer is an employee of the state, his salary can take care of all family needs. He can send his children to higher schools. His wife can devote her whole time to the care of the home. The entire family need no longer work in the fields to earn a mere livelihood.

With these and similar arguments, Communist agents impressed enough small farmers to gain the needed votes in the last free elections in Czechoslovakia, held in 1946. One promise in particular was very appealing—that of substantial participation in expropriated land. This promise they were partially successful in keeping. As a result of the picture they painted, the

Communists in 1946 were the strongest party in Czechoslovakia. They polled about 40 per cent of the vote. By 1948, when the hollowness of their promises had become evident, they would have lost heavily in the elections, had not the elections by that time become a Communist farce.

COLLECTIVIZATION IN ACTION

The Communist Government of Czechoslovakia has been very vigorous in advancing its collectivization program. The few remaining private farmers find the going hard. In 1950, no private farmer was allowed to hire help during the harvest. No farm machinery could be sold to the independent owner. On the contrary, he was deprived of what he had. Now, only Communist cooperatives which have been formed in the villages may own mechanical aids. To add to the independent farmer's plight, he is forced to contribute cereals, cattle, etc., to the Government in proportion to the size of his holding. If he cannot deliver, he is an "enemy of the people." He is robbed of everything and put into prison. As a result, many farmers have "voluntarily" given their fields to "the nation" to avoid a more distressing fate.

Obviously the ruthless and false "reforms" of communism must be countered. Even though Communist promises have not been kept, a return to the past has little appeal. There is no use trying to cast a rosy glow over the hardships and inequities the farmer formerly suffered. The peasants remember their lot only too well. Only a truly Christian solution, financially sound and spiritually satisfying, can return disillusioned farmers to the lands they once tilled.

In planning a solution, we are faced with a seeming paradox: 1) farming is easier and more profitable if

large tracts of land are cultivated by machines, and these machines are usually beyond the economic means of the single individual; 2) farming one's private property yields more satisfaction, and is a greater incentive to endeavor than working on another's land.

To this seeming paradox there is the cooperative answer, recognized in papal social doctrine as a means of strengthening small and medium holdings.

Cooperative methods have long since passed out of the experimental stage. Cooperative credit systems, or credit unions, enjoy a long tradition of successful operation in Western Europe. Soundly established farmer cooperatives can bring fair prices to the farmer and to the consumer, maintain high standards in marketing, and prevent proletarianism through a better distribution of private property. Such enterprises are in accord with the Christian idea of collaboration as taught in the social encyclicals. Hence the need of a clear and effective cooperative platform in any program to liberate eastern European agrarians from the Red tyranny.

Spiritual care of the mentally ill

Sister Mary Crown of Thorns, M.S.B.T.

COME TO ME all ye that... are heavily burdened and I will refresh you." And who are the most heavily burdened today? Are they not those whose nerves are shattered, whose minds are warped and clouded, whose souls are seared so that modern society has ostracized them and left them to the care of personnel in hospitals for the mentally ill?

The writer recently made a comprehensive study of the problem of spiritual care for the mentally ill. She discovered among other facts, the following: over half of all the patients in hospitals on any given day—some 600,000 of them—are mental patients. About 100,000 are Catholics. Every year 150,000 persons are committed to mental hospitals. What is being done for these unfortunate people?

In general, the hospitals caring for the mentally ill employ the findings of scientific research and the most modern technique in the art of healing: hydrotherapy, electro-convulsive therapy, physiotherapy, drug therapy, psychotherapy, diet therapy, occupational therapy and recreational therapy. The therapies listed are excellent, but incomplete: for man is a creature composed of a material body and a spiritual soul, and consequently any program of health which fails to

Sr. Mary Crown of Thorns is supervisor of the Bureau of Catholic Charities, Charlotte, N. C. She writes from long experience in nursing and social work.

take into consideration the whole man, body and soul, and the undeniable interaction of spirit and body, defeats its own purpose.

Authorities in the field of mental health have long pointed out the need for religion in the program. Rev. James Van der Veldt, professor of psychology at the Catholic University of America, said in a report to the National Association for Mental Health in 1950: "Psychiatry and religion are not interchangeable, but rather complementary factors." And Dom Thomas Verner Moore years ago pointed out instances in which the "psychiatrist must often own up to the hopelessness of all psychology" and "religion alone can handle" the situation.

William Sadler, consulting psychiatrist to Columbus Hospital, Chicago, states:

Some day man may awake to the fact that the teachings of Christ are potent and powerful in preventing and curing disease. Some day our boasted scientific development, as regards mental and moral improvement, may indeed catch up with the teachings of this Man of Galilee.

The statements quoted above represent a recognition on the part of thinking persons of the necessity for bringing Christ into the hospital for those sick in mind.

Two years ago, as part of my work for a bachelor's degree in Nursing Education at Saint Louis University, I conducted a survey of the spiritual care in Catholic hospitals for the mentally ill. The work left me hungry to know what was being done for the spiritual care of patients in hospitals not under Catholic administration. Helped by the lists in the American Hospital Directory, I sent out 554 questionnaires. A total of 221 administrators, superintendents or chaplains responded, and many genuinely enthusiastic reports, including personal letters, poured in. Hospital personnel were interested and many asked to know the results of the study.

While the survey yielded information about the spiritual care being given Protestant, Jewish and Catholic patients, this article will discuss only the care provided for Catholics in hospitals not under Catholic auspices.

Of the 221 hospitals studied, 127 supplied the exact number of Catholic patients, 19 gave the percentage of Catholic patients in the hospital, 22 gave the approximate number of Catholic patients, 53 failed to answer or were not helpful. Many of the hospitals stated that a considerable number of patients were reported as having no religion; other answers were unenlightening. Therefore, statistics in this area are not very meaningful.

The study showed that adequate chapel facilities were lacking. The vast majority had no chapel space in their buildings. Thirty-four had improvised chapels, and it is probable that the 79 without chapels also improvise; but such chapels are inadequate. Thirteen had "all-denomination" chapels, 91 had chapels but failed to designate the denomination; and only one chapel was used exclusively by Catholics.

From administrators came the appeal for more chaplains and especially for those psychiatrically trained. The report of 221 hospitals showed 29 full-time resident chaplains, 3 resident part-time chaplains, 122 nonresident part-time, 9 full-time chaplains and 48 chaplains on call.

The frequency with which the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was offered in the 221 hospitals surveyed ranged from 21 with daily and 93 with weekly Mass to 2 with biweekly, 28 with monthly and 11 with bimonthly Mass. Four have Mass irregularly and 57 not at all. The last two conditions existed in those sections of the country where Catholics were in a small minority or where the hospital reporting was a small private one whose patients were permitted to attend services in nearby churches. Three of the 57 hospitals not having Mass at all are under Protestant auspices. Administrators would welcome more frequent celebration of Mass.

Recitation of the rosary was very infrequent and not practised at all in many hospitals. In 11 hospitals the rosary is recited daily for 1, 2 or 5 months during the year. Eighteen hospitals practise the devotion weekly, 4 monthly. Sermons were delivered in one hospital daily and in 63 weekly. The majority were delivered during Mass. Tabulations on the frequency of Benediction of the Most Blessed Sacrament revealed that 183 hospitals never had Benediction, 12 had it occasionally and 14 weekly. Days of recollection were conducted in 12 hospitals annually, in 5 more often, and in 1 occasionally. In 203 hospitals no days of recollection were given.

The survey showed that in 20 States no Catholic societies were active in assisting the mentally ill, while in 26 States Catholic groups such as the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, the Holy Name Society, the National Catholic Community Service, the Knights of Columbus, the Legion of Mary, the Children of Mary and various local parish societies showed interest.

An analysis and interpretation of the data seemed to warrant the following conclusions. Recognition of the existence and the importance of the problem of spiritual care for mentally ill patients was widespread, as was a sympathetic attitude among hospital administrators toward this need, coupled with a desire to improve the situation. It was indicated that more psychiatrically trained chaplains would be welcome in all areas. There was also a widespread appreciation of the services a priest has to offer. This was manifested in the appeals for more frequent celebration of Mass, more opportunities for confession and for more frequent visits from the clergy.

A comprehensive census of Catholic patients in non-Catholic mental hospitals seems advisable, since signing in as a "Catholic" may mean almost anything. For there are ignorant and lapsed Catholics, lukewarm Catholics who, despite their neglect of their religion, remember with homesickness their affiliation. There are, of course, also fervent and well-instructed Catholics. This disparity among Catholics in knowledge and love of their faith is important.

Days of recollection would be an excellent practice to introduce, especially for patients soon to be discharged, as it would promote more complete rehabilitation. The request for the assistance of lay apostolate groups in caring for the spiritual needs of the mentally ill was general. The need of sympathetic understanding on the part of lay people toward patients, coupled with a corresponding generosity in helping to supply religious and spiritual deficiencies, is a universal want.

More inter-professional education (*i. e.*, of doctors, nurses, chaplains, occupational therapists and others) regarding the respective contribution to the mental health of patients by psychiatry and religion is a recognized need. Psychiatrists, in particular, should be better orientated to the possibilities of religious help for patients.

It seems obvious from these facts that Christ is being brought only with difficulty and under handicap to the hundreds of thousands of Catholic patients who cannot go to Him. It is not Christian in a Christian country to leave anything undone which would bring Christ the Healer to all who need Him. Recall the zeal with which men brought the sick to Christ in the days of His ministry on earth. The memory of His healing power, and the realization of the need which mental patients have of that power, is a challenge to American Catholics today.

Press comment on the "Nixon case"

Robert C. Hartnett

THE POLITICAL "fumble-recovery" of Sen. Richard M. Nixon, 39-year-old GOP "Veep" candidate, unquestionably gave the Presidential campaign a drama-packed week. It was a *deus ex machina* in the middle of the show that lifted a performance out of the doldrums and overnight made a star of a newcomer. No one can predict how Mr. Nixon's *tour de force* on the TV screen the evening of September 23 will affect the results at the polls November 4. That his unprecedented self-defense has had a powerful emotional impact is obvious. The hundreds of thousands of telegrams, telephone messages and letters, nearly all favorable to the Senator, are sufficient evidence.

One aspect of the Nixon case that is worth reporting at some length is the way the U. S. press reacted to it.

DELAYED REPORTING

The New York Post, which first broke the story of the Senator's \$18,000 fund (AM. 10/4, p. 7), took occasion on September 22, four days after its scoop, to raise the curtain on the story behind the Nixon-fund story.

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Leo Katcher, the *Post's* West Coast correspondent, had heard reports that Mr. Nixon was "the beneficiary of unorthodox political financing." In collaboration with reporters for the Los Angeles *Daily News* and the *Reporter* magazine, he learned that Dana C. Smith (treasurer of the fund, as it turned out) was the man to see. Mr. Smith showed no hesitation in divulging the facts, which the *Post* then splashed before its readers. It should be added that subsequent revelations proved the original story authentic.

The *Post*, an afternoon paper, put the story on the street in its Thursday edition, September 18, at 10 A.M. The Associated Press, which has the right to pick up any *Post* story, failed to put the Nixon scoop on its wire until 5 P.M., too late for the evening papers, at least in the East. When it did report it, the AP ignored the *Post* and simply carried a statement by the chairman of the Democratic National Committee and (a few minutes later) Mr. Nixon's statement in self-defense. The United Press, by contrast, had "sent out a full detailed summary of the *Post* story, simultaneous with publication of our first edition."

According to the *Post*, many papers get only the AP service. Others decline to run a story until the AP verifies it. More than that, the New York *Journal-American* (Hearst) failed to mention the Nixon story all day Thursday, though it broke in its own neighborhood and was well authenticated. The New York *World Telegram and Sun* (Scripps-Howard) let it pass with an inside dispatch from S-H correspondent Peter Edson reporting Mr. Nixon's explanation of a story that paper had not yet disclosed. Other New York newspapers, all pro-Eisenhower, either let the story ride or buried it, even on Friday. Both the New York *Times* and the *Herald Tribune*, however, "made an earnest and dignified attempt to cover the news . . ."

This muffling of the trumpets of the free press helps to explain General Eisenhower's slow response to the disclosure. According to the *Post*, reporters on the Eisenhower train had to turn to page 57 in the Omaha *World-Herald* on Thursday night to learn that Mr. Nixon was under fire.

This shrugging off of a well-authenticated story hurtful to a candidate to whom many of them were committed does not speak very well for the American editors responsible for such cavalier journalism.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

Since the New York *Times* made two roundups of editorial comment on the Nixon case, one before and the other after his TV appearance, it is possible to report and evaluate this press reaction.

In general, the nation's press took a serious view of the Nixon fund when it was first disclosed. The New York *Herald Tribune* (Ind. Rep., for E.) thought the Senator should offer to withdraw. The *World Telegram* (Ind., for E.) regarded the Nixon practice as "not sound policy." The Philadelphia *Inquirer* (Ind., for E.) calling it "a serious matter," objected to those who labeled the report a "Communist smear." The Wash-

ington *Post* (Ind., for E.) thought Mr. Nixon should withdraw. The Baltimore *Sun* (Ind. Dem., for E.), the Richmond *News Leader* (Ind., for E.) and the Denver *Post* (Ind., for E.) all thought the disclosure a pretty serious thing.

It is not necessary to spotlight the views of other papers, because the survey reported by the New York *Times*, itself stanchly pro-Eisenhower, showed a two-to-one disapproval of the Nixon fund, with the disapproval ranging from "unwise" to "should withdraw." If the United States has a "one-party press," as Governor Stevenson has charged, it was all the more significant that disapproval of the Nixon fund was so widespread.

REACTION TO NIXON DEFENSE

Now let's exemplify how some of the papers which frowned heavily upon the Nixon fund reacted to the Senator's TV appearance on September 23. The *Herald Tribune* dropped its suggestion that Mr. Nixon should at least offer to withdraw and considered him "thoroughly vindicated." Many other papers rendered the same verdict.

The Washington *Star* commented that Mr. Nixon had not removed doubt about the ethics of his fund, but admitted that he had staged a "remarkable comeback." The Washington *Post* observed that "the central issue . . . remains unanswered . . ." The Baltimore *Sun* drifted completely away from the question of the fund in its comment. The Richmond *News Leader* almost alone stuck to its guns: "To acknowledge the emotional appeal of the Senator's plea . . . is not to change the basic wrongness of the idea one iota . . . Senator Nixon should step down."

Most of the press, however, seems to have taken the position that the Senator had put himself right with the people and that the incident, which had "boomeranged" against the Democrats anyway, was closed.

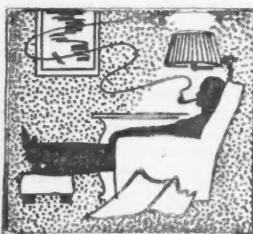
Rather lost sight of in the excitement was General Eisenhower's handling of the Nixon crisis. Some reporters noted the discrepancy between the way the General said he would judge the issue and the way he actually judged it. The only pro-Eisenhower journalist to find the General's handling of the case "disturbing" seems to have been Walter Lippmann.

It is safe to say that what began as a serious issue of political morality, viewed very soberly by most of the pro-Eisenhower press, evaporated as soon as Senator Nixon scored his triumph on TV. The simultaneous emergence of the facts about Governor Stevenson's fund helped to blow the thing out to sea.

The question that remains unanswered is whether the American press tries to shape public opinion on such an issue, or merely reflects it. Many editors seem to have lost the ball in the scrimmage.

They have a chance to recover it by addressing themselves seriously to the reforms already suggested as means of raising ethical standards in public life. Are they really interested in such reforms?

FEATURE "X"



Father LaFarge, S.J., AMERICA's former Editor-in-Chief, discusses the puzzling, and pitiable, life and thought of the late George Santayana, who acquired a popular vogue in the U. S. as sage and artist.

FEW ANTE-MORTEM WISHES regarding interment have caused more international perplexity than the desire expressed by George Santayana, world-famous writer and philosopher, who died in Rome on September 26 at the age of eighty-eight. He wished, he said, not to be interred in a Protestant graveyard, but to be placed in unconsecrated ground in a Catholic cemetery. No such arrangement was feasible in any Catholic cemetery of Rome, and the Spanish consulate in that city objected to his being buried in Rome's Protestant cemetery in the company of Keats, Shelley, and other literary celebrities. Santayana, born in Madrid of Spanish parents, had never relinquished his native Spanish citizenship, although his entire life, from the age of twelve until he retired to live in Rome in 1923, had been spent in the United States. He was finally buried in the Spanish section of Verano Catholic cemetery, but without benefit of any religious ceremony.

The uncertainty that troubled George Santayana's coffin reflected the ambiguity that marked his entire brilliant career. It was never clear whether he was primarily a literary man or a philosopher, or whether his heart tended most to drag down or to build up. Time alone can judge of his real nature and worth, as only God's mercy can judge of the curiously twisted conscience that he took with him, apparently, to his grave. In his childhood, he tells us, he attended Mass regularly at the Jesuit church of the Immaculate Conception, in Boston, and enjoyed the sermons of its famous preachers. But his early religion seems to have been largely one of imagination, and it soon withered in the bleak atmosphere of his post-Puritan relatives.

During his salad days as a Harvard University professor of philosophy, Santayana did not seek or need the protection of any ivory tower. He wrote, lectured and hobnobbed in the full current of that prosperous time. Boston and Cambridge were charmed by a witty personality who could unfold the beauties of Platonism, classicism, baroque romanticism, Catholic European culture and fastidiously modulated verse—all in a fascinating literary style. The undergraduates found Santayana, as a teacher or person, a relief from ponderous Germanic philosophizing or the arid wastes of President Eliot's elective system, and more

or less flocked to him, although some of them later repaid him with bitter satire.

At the same time he demanded from his followers no heavy commitment of faith, justice or moral integrity. As he wrote in his autobiography:

I had disregarded or defied public opinion by not becoming a specialist, but writing pessimistic, old-fashioned verses, continuing to range superficially over literature and philosophy, being indiscernibly a Catholic or an atheist. . . At the same time, in private, I had breathed the pleasantest airs of sympathy and friendship.

He had no hesitation in talking hedonism and wrote in his *Obiter Scripta*: "Why should a youth suppress his budding passions in favor of the sordid interests of his own withered old age?"

I have personal knowledge of the influence he then wielded in weakening the religious faith of young men and drawing Catholics and believing Protestants away from their religion. In a worldly way, he was a pleasant, successful effort to make a home in two worlds: that of naturalism and anti-clericalism, inherited from his bitter-souled Spanish father, and that of the joyful gifts of the Greek and Christian cultural tradition. This literary-philosophical mixture survived the first World War, but collapsed pitifully when totalitarian issues darkened the scene, with the coming of Mussolini and Hitler, the Spanish civil war, and the terrors of world communism.

It is no wonder that Santayana retired into his Roman seclusion, but one does wonder why he, who every now and then was so piercingly true in his analysis of modern philosophers and religious heresies, did not devote the last years of his life to laying down—as he could have done so nobly—some philosophic foundations of belief for a disordered world.

Instead of that, he clung to his absurd errors to the end. A painful witness to his continued confusion is the very ably edited book of selections from his writings entitled *Atoms of Thought* (Philosophical Library, \$5.00). Piled up in logical sequence, these many extracts, all of them admirably phrased, are an astonishing example of how banal and childish a cultivated mind can become once it has renounced the clear light of that faith which inspires and connects every phase of the vast Christian cultural structure. Let me quote a few:

Materialism marks the dawn of intelligence in the animal mind.

I believe profoundly in the animality of the mind.

I tolerantly observed religion always superimposing itself upon truth.

In reviving Christmas, Dickens transformed it from the celebration of a metaphysical mystery into a feast of overflowing simple kindness and good cheer.

As for the Christian doctrine of judgment, it is something wholly out of relation to the empirical facts.

The Gospels that we possess were . . . composed in the Church, by the Church, and for the Church.

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He was annoyed that William James clung to certain moral inhibitions and ideals.

Here and there passages suggest a very different point of view, as when he remarks that certain modern schools of thought look not for "union with God and God's level . . . under the form of truth and eternity," but at our level, "of time, appearance and feeling." But in the great bulk of the material, the matter is grievously scant and meretricious in proportion to the sparkle of the form.

Among the "atoms" are nasty slurs on the morals of priests and the "arid and stereotyped" conversation of monks and nuns. Prayer is merely "histrionic." It is painfully ironic that the last dozen years of George Santayana's life were spent in the loving care of charitable English Catholic religious, the Little

Company of Mary, or "Blue Nuns" of Rome. Theirs was an unselfish task if there ever was one.

Santayana is only one of many in our time who seek, or have sought, to live off the rich cultural and spiritual heritage of Christianity without sharing its sacrifices or obligations. They have their day and hour, as collectors, quasi-philosophers and critics. But the day and hour are not indefinite. Time caught up with Santayana, and found the poor man empty-handed where he could so easily have learned to dispense some items of spiritual wealth. Unless the great Christian cultural heritage perishes in a world calamity, the hour is sure to come when its symbols and beauties will begin to guide humanity's feet back to the Source whence all these marvels originate and to which they are meant to guide us.

JOHN LAFARGE, S.J.

On liberals again

Michael F. Moloney

I have previously expressed in these columns (AM. 4/5, "Catholics can win the liberals") the conviction that the liberal mind is more reconcilable to Catholic truth at this time than it has been at any other period in the past hundred years. I see no reason to retreat from that position. I wrote then to emphasize the very grave responsibility and very real difficulties confronting every Catholic who in whatever capacity speaks or writes as a representative of his faith to the non-Catholic world. Three recent articles by three well-known liberal intellectuals dramatize those responsibilities and difficulties.

The most recent, "The Next Eighty Years," by Bertrand Russell, appeared in the *Saturday Review of Literature* for August 9. This essay is typical of Russell, exhibiting at once Darwinian faith, Wellsian fantasy, Butlerian malevolence and a generous portion of Russell's own characteristic dogmatism. The aging earl allows himself to hope that when technological advancement shall have delivered man from the necessity of labor, "there may be a general development of kindness and joy which will enable men to view with equanimity the pleasures of others because their own happiness will be secure." But while he thinks that "such a world may perhaps come about in time," he is not certain:

... in darker moments I am oppressed by the abysses of hatred, malice and envy in the human heart, and I wonder whether man will ever permit himself the happiness that his intelligence has made physically possible.

Faced with this uncertainty, and in principle forced to reject the aid of the "moralists" (which term includes, one may be certain, the "religionists") Russell would place his faith for man's future in education and in international regulation and control of industry.

On the former point he is almost wistful:

LITERATURE AND ARTS

I think that education, if it were wisely conducted, could do a very great deal . . . Children could be taught in school that where the interests of different groups appear to conflict, the conflict is caused by useless and foolish passions . . .

So it is as simple as that! Men's passions are to be eradicated by merely labeling them useless and foolish.

Lord Russell, of course, is a spokesman for an unreconstructed liberalism which is really a twentieth-century survival of an essentially nineteenth-century mode of thought. It is, I believe, significant that the most famous exponent of this type of liberalism is eighty years old. Though the "moral" truth of Catholicism cannot hope to establish a rapport with it, I think we should not be perturbed by that fact. Such a receding creed will not be a powerful contender for the suffrages of the future.

But another much more challenging type of liberalism is represented by two widely-read reviews of Whittaker Chambers' *Witness*. The first of these, by Sidney Hook, appeared in the *New York Times Book Review* for May 25. It is a lengthy piece and friendly in the main, though posing much detailed objection to Chambers' position. That the man commonly considered the foremost disciple of John Dewey should have taken seriously a book so thoroughly based on religious convictions as Chambers' is, I think, pertinent. It is proof that the secular humanism of the Deweyites is not so intransigent in the mid-twentieth century as it was before Hiroshima. The common peril in which

the Western world finds itself has brought to those intellectuals who once considered themselves the undisputed spokesmen for the future a broader tolerance and a humbler language. On the whole, I should say, despite its limitations, Sidney Hook's is better balanced than most of the Catholic reviews of the book that I have seen, too many of which have offered emotional endorsement as a frothy substitute for critical analysis.

Nevertheless, with the utmost good will, Professor Hook is a victim of his preconceptions, a fact that is revealed not so much in his positive statements as in innuendoes. Let me cite a few examples.

Precisely because, as Chambers admits in an unguarded moment, "religion is not ethics or social reform," it is neither necessary nor sufficient for the discovery of the social programs and political strategy essential to the survival of freedom. Here there is no substitute for creative intelligence.

Note that religion is slyly taken to preclude "creative intelligence."

Since Chambers is a self-declared mystic and irrationalist, it is pointless to take issue with him on matters he regards as transcending human intelligence.

Here a subtle identity is established between the mystic and irrationalist. I cannot resist quoting Jacques Maritain in refutation:

The mystic is beyond reason—because he is united to the source of reason, intelligence in him becomes the discipline of love—because, deprived on earth of the vision of God, charity alone can connaturalize us with divine things and so obtain for us a supernatural knowledge of those things.

Again Professor Hook writes:

On another level, one senses that Chambers has always been a man of feeling, always more interested in salvation of one kind or another than in disciplined thought. The result is an intellectual impatience, a hunger for absolutes, a failure of intelligence concealed in a surge of rapture or in a total commitment to action which requires a basis in irrational belief to sustain and renew itself. From the mysteries of dialectical materialism to the mysteries of dialectical theology is no great leap.

The contrast between "feeling" and "disciplined thought," the accusations of absolutism and "irrational belief" and, climactically, the association of "dialectical materialism" and "dialectical theology" ("The Pope and Stalin," you know, "are equally dictators"), these taken together furnish a handy compendium of the indictments which the liberal delights to hurl at the believer.

Yet, even so, I believe Professor Hook's essay substantiates my position that the liberal mind today is not closed to the truth Catholicism has to offer. For one thing, there is the obvious effort, which, with all its partial failures, is not too unsuccessful, to be fair

to a man whose "religious" or "mystical" or "irrational" propensities are clearly distasteful to the author. There is a vast difference in tone between Professor Hook on Whittaker Chambers and Professor Tyndall on Bishop Wilberforce, a difference, which is, I insist, a sign of the times.

Moreover, there is far less complacency in Professor Hook's attitude than there was in that of his nineteenth-century forbears. Again one recalls

the blatancy of Tyndall and turns with relief to Professor Hook's declaration that "secular humanism has developed gradually through grudging tolerance of religious differences to positive respect for all religious beliefs or disbeliefs." This is a forthright statement and we ought to welcome it.

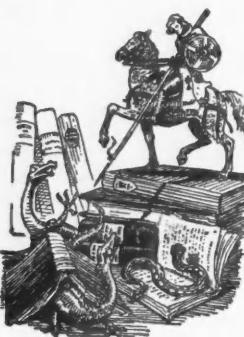
The second review of the *Witness* to which I have referred is by Arthur Schlesinger Jr. in the *Saturday Review of Literature* for May 24. It is even more generous to Chambers, the man, than is Professor Hook's. Its refutations of Chambers' strictures on the New Dealers suffer quite obviously from the fact that Professor Schlesinger is not quite a disinterested party. (I offer as my own competence in the latter judgment the declaration that I voted four times for Franklin D. Roosevelt.) But it is Professor Schlesinger's remarks on Chambers' religion and philosophy which are most germane to the point I am arguing. Commenting on Chambers' conclusion that the "final division between the Communists and the anti-Communists turns on the issue of belief in God," Professor Schlesinger declares:

I sympathize basically with this analysis of communism. I concluded my book *The Age of Jackson* with Pascal's aphorism: "He who would act the angel acts the brute"; and I think that Whittaker Chambers, who reviewed *The Age of Jackson* for *Time*, knows how I stand on this matter. But Mr. Chambers, I believe, while he has the beast by the tail, does not name it correctly. The essential issue is not belief in God. It is rather the sense of human limitation, of human fallibility, of what he himself calls the "mortal incompleteness" of man. And the tragedy of religion is that belief in God is by no means a guarantee of humility . . .

It is . . . fashionable today, as part of the demand for absolute, immutable, external standards, to blame the ills of the world on pragmatism . . . It can be argued quite as logically that only those who believe in absolute values can achieve the conviction of infallibility which permits tyranny and murder . . . The fact is that here logic is no guide. We are reduced to observation and experience.

I believe there are flaws in Professor Schlesinger's reasoning but they are not my immediate concern.

Mr. Moloney, author of John Donne: His Flight From Medievalism (University of Illinois Press), is in the English Department of Marquette University.



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What does concern me is his adumbration of the fearful responsibility of every Catholic before the bar of public opinion and ultimately before the judgment seat of God. "We are reduced to observation and experience" is a quite literal description of the plight of the seeker for truth who must make his search alone and unaided. And what a stone of scandal is all too often offered those who hunger for bread!

I think of the Catholic commentator on an ostensibly Catholic radio program aired weekly from a Mid-western city in which the social philosophy of the National Association of Manufacturers, the political philosophy of utter isolationism, the miscellaneous activities of the Holy Name Society and of the diocesan clergy, and the most singular interpretations of papal encyclicals are offered in one inglorious *mélange*. (May I defend my competence as a witness on this point by insisting that I did not vote for President Truman?) One recalls, too, an editorial in a Catholic newspaper opposing the sending of wheat to the starving millions of India on the ground that the Indians had mismanaged their crop rotation. Nor would it be difficult to name a half-dozen Catholic columnists, lay and clerical, whose writings are seemingly more distinguished by partisan zeal than by either Christian charity or a hunger for truth.

Fortunately, we are not generally that bad. But such expressions of unwise can do incalculable harm in begriming the atmosphere which both Catholic and non-Catholic must breathe.

Although integrity in life and work is, I am convinced, the great apostolate of our time, yet the influence of the written and spoken word is not negligible. Wisely used, it can broaden and deepen the "positive respect for all religious beliefs" of which Professor Hook speaks. Wisely used, it can also offer abundant testimony to that sense of humility, to that "mortal incompleteness," which Professor Schlesinger finds so appealing and which, though he denies it, can find substantiation only in "belief in God."

Timeless, therefore timely

SAINTS FOR NOW

Edited by Clare Boothe Luce. Sheed & Ward. 312p. \$3.50

Impression number one about this book is the excellence of the writing. This, of course, comes as no surprise, for all the contributors (Evelyn Waugh, Paul Gallico, Kate O'Brien, Bruce Marshall, to name but a few) are professional writers. Their assemblage here adds up to a sort of implicit tribute to the saints, who are worthy not only of veneration and imitation, but also of the courtesy of being written about maturely, sensitively and excellently. Too often authors who could not possibly earn a living in any other field of writing feel that the richness

of a saint's life will excuse their own poverty of style.

If I may perhaps invidiously single out some of the studies, I would say that those most representative of good writing are Kate O'Brien's on St. Francis Xavier, Barbara Ward's on St. Thomas More, George Lamb's on St. Simeon Stylites and D. B. Wyndham Lewis' on Pope St. Pius V. All the studies, however, are well, if not strikingly, written.

What of the content? Here, again, there is bound to be a divergence. One or two of the chapters skim the surface of the saint, and do not get down to his interior life or the qualities of his sanctity that relate him to these days of ours—a purpose that is indicated in the very title of the book. But in general, the authors do manifest that they have lived with their saints. Karl Stern,

Conversion

The grain I had was ever left ungarned,
Nor husbanded, nor gathered up in sheaves.
Slowly it ripened, slowly drooped and falling
Became no more than earth and rotted leaves.

The fire I had was wasted in small blazes.
It warmed no hearth; nor gave a useful light
Brief flares, flung out upon the lonely places
To drive back fear and swift-returning night.

The fire I have is radiance eternal,
Released from heaven by the Holy Ghost,
And mounting grain—what myriads, what amplitude
of harvest
Caught lightly in the circle of one small uplifted
Host!

LOUISE SAUNDERS PERKINS

The Indian summer lithely steals

Sunset, when I am once again
The boy before his fireplace curled:
The Indian summer lithely steals
Into my Leatherstocking world.

And long familiar pages blur
Into the sun's embracing flood,
While tribes of ancient forms flame through
My room and warm the thinning blood.

An old, old chieftain guides the dance;
And when he drums with fiery breath,
The bravest only of the braves
Keep perfect step to Chieftain Death.

The Indian summer lithely steals
From flame to dying amethyst.
I know it is too late to read
Who hear the tom-tom at my wrist.

RAYMOND ROSELIEP

BOOKS

for instance, in his really splendid chapter on St. Thérèse of Lisieux, gets close to the motivation of her special holiness and succeeds in once for all routing the popular conception of her as the "sweet Little Flower."

Kate O'Brien has an admirable grasp of the spirit of the Society of Jesus (though she makes it sound a little more grim than necessary) and how it shaped the zeal of Xavier. It may be remarked in passing that she is a little rough on the miracles of the saint; the forthcoming life of Xavier by the great English Province historian, Rev. James

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Brodrick, S.J., "debunks" some of the saint's miracles, too, but on grounds quite other than those Miss O'Brien adduces.

The "nowness"—the peculiar relevance of a particular saint to today's problems and hopes—depends quite understandably on the author's special approach to the saint. In general, any saint is a saint for *now*, for holiness of life is a message to all times; precisely because their holiness is, as Mrs. Luce points out in her chapter, "Saints," a sharing in and reflection of the holiness of Christ, the saints are, like Him, for "yesterday, today and forever."

The application of the saints to our times is attempted here with considerable success. St. Simeon, for example, is seen (with a nice humor) as a rebuke to the giddy "busy-ness" of modern man; St. Thomas More is a still-living rebuke to the spirit of compromise. St. Thomas More's timeliness is perhaps best delineated here in Barbara Ward's study of how he recognized and braved what were, in effect, the stirrings of totalitarianism.

This is a very rewarding book which is, in addition, a beautifully produced job, with seven striking illustrations. *Saints for Now* is the November selection of the Catholic Book Club.

Harold C. GARDINER

When the slump came

THE MEMOIRS OF HERBERT HOOVER, Vol. III: The Great Depression, 1929-1941

Macmillan. 485p. \$5

This third volume of Herbert Hoover's Memoirs consists of several hundred pages of verbal battling against the New Deal, the Fair Deal and all their continuing works. Despite the publishers' acclaim of Mr. Hoover as a studious and informative historian, this third volume is largely a personal history, with the inevitable bias of autobiography when on the defensive. It lacks much of the interest and humor of the stage of "anecdote" in the lives of ex-Presidents and elder statesmen who feel an urge for *apologia*.

Unfortunately, in this third volume there are sharp overtones of the testimony garnered from sundry and abundant writings and speeches of former stanch advocates and ardent adherents of the New Deal who later became either disillusioned with its broad social programs, or thoroughly disgruntled with the roles assigned to or assumed by them. The validity of such evidence in these circumstances would appear rather dubious. Hind-sight, however, elaborated and spiced

with recriminations, is hardly the stuff with which instructive history can be recorded.

The subtitle of this volume dates the "Great Depression" through the years 1929-1941. Mr. Hoover tells us he assumed the role of prophet of economic disaster as early as 1925. He says he voiced his direct warnings to President Coolidge, but "President Coolidge was a strict legalist . . . and Secretary Mellon seemed to think my anxiety was alarmist and my interference unwarranted." "But," Mr. Hoover continues,

other members of the Administration, also having economic responsibilities—Under-Secretary of the Treasury Mills, Governor Young of the Federal Reserve Board, Secretary of Commerce Lamont and Secretary of Agriculture Hyde—believed with me that we should use the powers of government to cushion the situation.

For purely political purposes, especially in a campaign year, that might be taken as a modified Republican version of many of the New Deal objectives, with a "me-too" accent—but with the marked difference that the Republican solution was a thought—an uncompounded prescription—rather than an actual application.

The financial crash in the United States came in 1929, seven months after Hoover assumed the Presidency. Whether or not it was the eruption, in full fury, of economic disturbances in Europe, combined with an accumulation of domestic economic difficulties, is a question for economic analysts to puzzle out. But the compelling historical fact is that it broke upon an Administration tragically divided and unequipped or unwilling to meet it with any realistic solution.

Mr. Hoover neatly divides the "Great Depression" into six distinct phases. He says: "Each phase began with new destructive forces; each had its own acute crisis." According to this convenient reckoning, the first five phases occurred in his own Administration. He says: "Each ended in an upturn and a brief hope that the worst was over." There was, and still is, small tonic in that kind of optimism to those of us who keenly remember those bitter years of the "Great Depression."

The bank panic of 1932, in the months before President Roosevelt was inaugurated, is called by Mr. Hoover, "the most senseless and easily prevented panic in all history." It is unfortunate that Mr. Hoover should dogmatically assert that had Roosevelt consulted with him and his out-going Cabinet on the pressing financial and economic conditions of the times, and had Roosevelt adjusted the Demo-

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cratic policies and action to the Republican wishes, there would have been no panic. That is a neat speculation for politicians in 1952, but it is hardly a warranty that an Administration which should have seen a devastating depression approaching and had been warned of it for some years by the author of these same memoirs, had any realistic remedy, or even a palliative for a crisis it had permitted to develop.

It may offer some comfort to Mr. Hoover to console himself and his readers with the statement:

If the New Deal had carried on our policies instead of deliberately wrecking them and then trying to make America over into a collective system, we should have made completely recovery in eighteen months after 1932, as did all the dozen other countries with a free economy.

This reviewer would be interested in knowing what specified policies are referred to and also what nations Mr. Hoover would identify as "all the dozen other nations with a free economy." Were Germany, Italy, Spain, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria included in the dozen?

Mr. Hoover is fully justified in refuting the malicious political charges that he was personally responsible for the depression, and every fair-minded reader will join with him in his resentment at the constant linking of his name with it, even today. But even the widest charity cannot include the exoneration of the members of his own, and two previous Republican Administrations, in their callous disregard for accumulated danger-signals, vividly warning of an impending economic disaster that would shake the nation to its foundations.

There should and probably will be a sympathetic response to Mr. Hoover's recital of the insuperable difficulties he encountered with a recalcitrant Congress. His temperate rebuttals of the grossly unfounded charges and the crude political epithets flung at him during and long after the campaign of 1931 will command general and justified admiration. The several chapters (22-29) possess great historical value in pointing up the real issues confronting both political parties during the years 1929-1932. These chapters have additional value in depicting the experience of an American President valiantly striving for solutions to an inheritance of problems which required forthright recognition and vigorous action. These chapters also reveal a political strategy and many of the ruthless methods of campaigning which it is to be hoped

may be discredited and deemed unworthy in the future.

A short chapter entitled "Home Again" reveals a little-known side of Mr. Hoover's personality. Perhaps his innate modesty precluded an extension of his and his family's reactions to his temporary withdrawal from public life. It seems unfortunate to this reviewer that some technique has not been considered in our practical democracy to utilize the experience and ability of our ex-Presidents. The fact that they have been defeated in an election in no wise diminishes their value or political service as objective and constructive critics of political policies. It seems to us that their patriotism would surmount any possible political partisanship.

The final third of this book, entitled "The Aftermath," draws heavily on the opinions, appraisals and publications of former colleagues or supporters of Roosevelt and the New Deal. They are segregated into precise categories by Mr. Hoover as "old-line Democrats," "really old-line Democrats," "intellectuals," "dangerous men and women," "liberals," "left-wing New Dealers," etc. Doubtless many of these personalities will be surprised and even resentful of their position in the catalog. In this section of the book there is an incongruous note of petulance. Mr. Hoover says of Roosevelt:

He had been supported by the Democratic combination which had its origin in the Bryan campaigns of 1896. Bryan had brought together old-line conservative Democrats (mostly Southerners), Northern radicals, and corrupt city machines. The binding of these groups over 30 years was one central theme—to get into office. But, in addition, Roosevelt had the support of a frustrated, suffering people who did not have the patience to fight through the inevitable penalties of a great war.

Perhaps it would not be impertinent to ask: Just what did three Republican Administrations after that war do to relieve the frustrations of these "suffering people"?

In this section also, Roosevelt, his Cabinet, and all and sundry who were identified with the New Deal and the Fair Deal become a hydra-headed national devil, against whom every invective from any source becomes a sermon.

As a reference work of the "Case for Hoover" the book has value to students of political history. It is encumbered with many defects but it has value to a general public hitherto unfamiliar with a most important phase of American history.

GREY LESLIE.

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GIANT

By Edna Ferber. Doubleday. 447p.
\$3.95

Edna Ferber has never hesitated to attack a big and challenging subject—the opening of Oklahoma in *Cimarron*, the rise of the Northwest's lumber industry in *Come and Get It*. Now, in *Giant*, she presents the biggest and most challenging subject yet—Texas. Miss Ferber must be a brave woman, for her portrait of what she calls "that enormous and somewhat incredible commonwealth" is far from flattering. The eyes of Texas must already be upon her suspiciously, and the wrath of Texas most certainly will descend on her as soon as her book is read there.

The story of *Giant* is told through Leslie Lynnton, Virginia belle, who in the nineteen-twenties married Bick Benedict, fabulous ruler of the two-and-a-half-million-acre Reata Ranch in Texas. The first and last chapters take place in the present era of private planes and staggering oil fortunes. In between we go back to the beginning of Leslie's marriage and witness her efforts through the years to understand and adapt herself to life in her husband's vast domain.

Leslie is intelligent as well as charming and quickly learns what opinions, actions and attitudes are taboo in this supposedly untrammelled and unconventional part of the country. But the knowledge does not keep her from many a tactless remark or unusual act which irritates, sometimes innocently, sometimes designedly, the men and women of her adopted state.

A lot of things are irritating to Leslie herself, from the Texas dialect, which she considers an affectation, to the unjust treatment of Mexican-Americans; from the tasteless food to the centralization of wealth and power in too few hands; from the patronizing attitude of men toward women to the lack of interest in things of the mind and spirit. Perhaps the chief irritants were the ostentatious and adolescent preoccupation with amassing material possessions, and the identification of bigness with quality.

Leslie does, of course, see much to admire and approve and is deeply in love with her Texan husband. But obviously, in her eyes—and in Miss Ferber's—the bad in Texas far outweighs the good at present, though it is suggested that there may be hope for the future.

This reviewer, having no first-hand knowledge of Texas, must reserve decision as to the justice of Miss Ferber's indictments. Purely as entertainment,

however, her novel is a first-rate yarn, told with all of Edna Ferber's considerable narrative skill—terrific panoramic pictures of the over-all scene, fascinating detailed descriptions where details are required, scores of living and believable characters, amusing and telling dialog, a plot that holds the interest to the last paragraph.

Giant will undoubtedly and deservedly be a best seller. It should be interesting to "neutral" readers to sit back and listen to the cries of outrage and explanation that will emanate from Texas and to try to estimate just how near *Giant* comes to the truth.

MARY BURKE HOWE

NEW FABIAN ESSAYS

Edited by R. H. S. Crossman. Praeger. 215p. \$4

The world-shapers in the Kremlin now see something growing up out of their labors that was not in their plans—a cohesion and unity Europe has not known since the breakup of Christendom. This is the hazard of social planning and prophecy. The very operation of a plan sets in motion currents which eat away the foundation on which it was built.

Fabian socialism in Britain illustrates the point. With the publication of the Fabian Essays back in 1889, a zealous group of reformers which included the Webbs and Bernard Shaw sketched their plans for installing socialism in place of laissez-faire capitalism. They won support from the trade unions and found political champions in the Labor party as it grew to power. Yet for all their opportunity, they have brought forth something which is neither socialism nor the old capitalism—it is instead the welfare state.

The authors of the *New Fabian Essays* recognize this fact. Six Labor M.P.'s and the Secretary of the Fabian Society, all of whom Clement Attlee speaks of in the preface as "people of the younger generation who have grown up in the disturbed atmosphere of the twentieth century" look around them and draw some conclusions. They see a society that is the result of the product of pressure and counter-pressure, in which some of the basic aims and principles of earlier Fabianism no longer have application.

The old Socialist faith in economic reform as the royal road to virtue—the belief that vice would vanish with the passing of capitalist exploitation—seems to have lost its luster. Private bureaucracy superseded by public bureaucracy solves no industrial problems, especially problems of labor relations and productivity. And the

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wedding of economic and political power issues is the gravest threat to human liberty. All these problems come in for consideration by the authors of these seven essays.

There is little that is new in their conclusions. In fact, one would be hard put to distinguish the philosophy of Richard Crossman from that of an American liberal such as Arthur Schlesinger Jr. But it is new to find such conclusions in the writings of those who still call themselves Socialists. How far they have strayed from the origins of Socialist thought will appear from these words of Mr. Crossman:

... the materialist fallacy [is] that material progress *makes* men either free or equal. One particularly vicious form of this fallacy is the belief that economics are the determinant factors in social change and that if we achieve economic justice we automatically secure human freedom.

But unhappily, while Mr. Crossman all but points out by name the social consequences of original sin, he believes that something he calls the Prometheian conscience can alone save us from the managerial society. And what is the Prometheian conscience? It is the non-Christian conscience of the good pagan. It exists everywhere where "scientific method and critical analysis are taught."

GORDON GEORGE

THESE ARE YOUR SONS

By Timothy J. Mulvey. McGraw-Hill. 278p. \$3.75

These Are Your Sons is an attempt to characterize the Korean war in a collection of short pieces about incidents of heroism, compassion and humor at the front. With Ernie Pyle as an apparent model, Father Mulvey recounts, among others, the stories of Sergeant O'Reilly, whose fondness for a nine-year-old Japanese girl resulted in the 27th Regiment's virtual adoption of an entire orphanage; of Herbie Littleton, whose last words were "Look out, Lieutenant," as he threw himself over a grenade to save his platoon leader; of Gus Scafaldi, who had the spirit to jokingly head his letters home "Frozen Chosen"; and of pilot Johnny Najarian putting his amphibious plane down in the middle of a river in enemy territory at night to rescue a fellow airman.

The author is an Oblate priest and professional radio and film writer who went to Korea from his missionary post in Japan expressly to write this book. He has a sincere and sympathetic respect for these valorous sons

of America and the other contributing countries of the United Nations. In effect, his stories are a tribute *in memoriam*. They are of value in helping the families of these men to attain a closer understanding of the nature of this peculiar conflict, and in reminding all of us that the cold war is still hot in Korea.

Both Father Mulvey's choice of material and his style, however, are perhaps too sentimental; he makes the men of whom he writes seem at times more like stage heroes than real men sweating out a dirty, miserable assignment. He succeeds, as was his admirable purpose, in tracing the glory of their sacrifices, but the glory is perhaps overemphasized at the expense of the grimness of war, which is notably absent. M. D. REAGAN

ISLAND PRIEST

By Henri Quaffelec. Dutton. 248p. \$3

Here is a slight and charming story, written without artifice or contrivance and out of a full Catholic heart for the entertainment of a catholic reading public. It is a simple tale with a complex substratum: it looks quietly at involved problems of dogma and ecclesiastical law and reduces them to the common denominator of highly readable fiction—all in all, a serene and reassuring book.

There was, according to the tale Henri Quaffelec has devised, an island off the coast of Brittany, so barren, so storm-ridden, so bereft of creature comforts that no priest would stay there long enough to be buried in its rocky graveyard. The need of the devout islanders for Catholic ceremonial "and for the actual bodily presence of a priest" was so great that without them they seemed to be attacked by "a strange kind of mental scurvy . . . resulting from a lack of sufficient religious nourishment."

Out of this great need an even stranger thing happened. A deeply pious, self-trained and sensitive young man, Thomas the fisherman, was propelled bodily by his neighbors into living in the vacant presbytery, and spiritually into the robes and role of the island's priest. Always reluctant, he yet performed part of a priest's functions. The book's end justifies his decision and the Church's and God's will for Thomas and the needful island folk.

I found it entirely believable that a man like Thomas could be thrust into the priesthood in this curiously devious way. It is a tribute to M. Quaffelec that he has created a credible atmosphere for his almost bizarre situation.

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This is the first of his books to be translated into English, so it is perhaps appropriate to remark on his style. He is of the nature-school of Jean Giono, a group marked by descriptive writing shaved down to the bare and quick bone. There is no extra verbiage in *Island Priest*. Indeed, its lean quality sometimes detracts from the full dramatic aspects of the narrative, but the metaphoric choice is always fortunate. Henri Queffelec seems a writer well worth reading now and watching for in the future. DORIS GRUMBACH

ADLAI E. STEVENSON OF ILLINOIS

By Noel F. Busch. Farrar, Straus & Young. 236p. \$3.75

General Eisenhower has long been a familiar figure by reason of his prominent part in the late war. This book introduces to us Adlai Stevenson, who, until very recently, did not enjoy such prominence. The book serves its purpose well, for it is objective, informative and written in a sprightly style which will recommend it to the casual reader. It is by no means a typical political biography, as, for that matter, Mr. Stevenson is not a typical political figure.

He comes of ancestry long distinguished in our history, particularly in the State of Illinois. He has enjoyed the advantages of an education traditional with men of his social stamp. A lawyer who has cultivated the arts of self-expression by pen and tongue, his public career commenced in the lesser realms of the Washington bureaus in the early New Deal days, advanced to the politically magic pre-

GREY LESLIE, who has reviewed political biographies for us before, has had many years experience in private business and government.

MARY BURKE HOWE taught English literature in New York City high schools, and is on the reviewing board of the National Legion of Decency.

REV. GORDON GEORGE, S.J., contributing editor of AMERICA, took graduate work in sociology at Fordham.

MICHAEL D. REAGAN, graduate of Holy Cross College, is with the Oxford University Press.

DORIS I. GRUMBACH, a free-lance writer, was formerly literary researcher on *Time* and an assistant editor on *Architectural Forum*.

JOHN J. RYAN JR. is a Boston attorney.

cincts of the Navy Department, where he assisted the late Secretary Knox, and then to the more dangerous walks of United Nations diplomacy.

Of all these matters Mr. Busch writes in a manner calculated to please as well as inform. Excerpts from Mr. Stevenson's own writings and statements in the second part of the book vie with Mr. Busch on this score.

JOHN J. RYAN JR.

Recommended for the fiction shelf

The weeks until Christmas will be the high-water mark of U. S. publishing. Approximately 30 books a week are published, of which probably one-half would be of a type to interest AMERICA readers. In an effort to keep up with this flood tide, a weekly column will be devoted to extremely brief notices of recommendable books in various categories. Here are some novels recently published which could find unabashed place on your library shelves.

THE HIDDEN FLOWER, by Pearl S. Buck (Day. \$3.50), tackles the problem of interracial marriage between a Japanese girl and an American lieutenant and the solution of the problem through the intercession of a Jewish woman doctor.

BRIDGE OF HEAVEN, by Murray Dyer (Harper. \$3.50), also has Japan as its setting in a story of the devoted service of a Protestant missionary.

THE LOST HILL, by Dorothy Evelyn Smith (Dutton. \$3), is a rather romantic story, recounted with sympathy and deep understanding of loneliness and respect for sound values, of a desperately unhappy widow and two men who vie for her affections.

DANCE AND SKYLARK, by John Moore (Macmillan. \$3), is a gay and frothy tale with a dash of Falstaff as well as of Puck, centered around 1951 life in a small English town.

THEODORA AND THE EMPEROR, by Harold Lamb (Dutton. \$4.50), is a semi-historical novel set in the age of Justinian.

LAXDALE HALL, by Eric Linklater (Harcourt, Brace. \$3.50), a very comic story about some wonderfully comic people, relates how a little town in Scotland's west highlands sets out to improve land and sea communications with the rest of Britain, and to protect local customs against alien ideas.

THE TARTAR STEPPE, by Dino Buzzati (Farrar, Straus & Young. \$3), is a haunting story of a lieutenant in the Italian Army who stays on in a desert

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fort in the hope that the Tartar enemy will one day attack and thereby give him chance to redeem his lonely life by a moment of personal exaltation.

HEAVEN PAYS NO DIVIDENDS, by Richard Kaufman (Viking, \$3.50), treats of Germany in the 1930's and 1940's with special emphasis on a German character who feels himself one of the "culturally dispossessed."

A HUNGRY MAN DREAMS, by Margaret Lee Runbeck (Houghton Mifflin, \$3.50), is the not-too-well motivated story of a man who, intensely conscious of the conflict in himself between good and evil, eventually capitulates to God and renounces a very profitable worldly career to become a minister.

RAMPOLE PLACE, by Isabella Holt (Bobbs-Merrill, \$3.50), starts with the Republican National Convention of 1912 (recounted as vividly as though it were the one of 1952) and carries the reader through the manners and morals of a slice of American life of forty years ago.

THUDBURY, by Clyde Brion Davis (Lippincott, \$3.75), called by its author an American comedy, is the story of a hundred-per-cent American who tries to be all things to all men, without convincing the reader that he is.

THE WORD

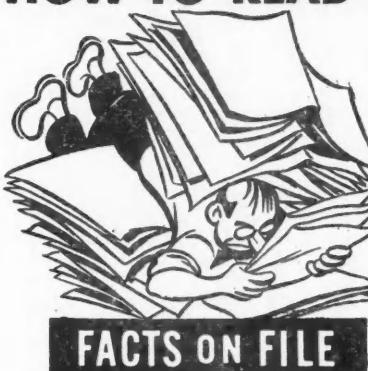
"Many are called, but few are chosen" (Matt. 22:1-14; 19th Sunday after Pentecost).

Sadness must have marked the countenance of our Lord as He unfolded the parable of the king who made a marriage feast—sadness and ardent longing for the souls of men. For the parable depicts God's infinite love and generosity and man's unwillingness to cooperate in his own salvation.

In the parable, the king's generosity is extraordinary. He prepares a royal banquet, invites his high-born guests, and reminds them of the feast as the hour approaches. When they fail to come, he smoothes his chagrin and dispatches his servants once more to urge their attendance. The ingrates wantonly kill his messengers, but still the king does not become embittered over his fellowmen.

Rather does the ruler turn to the lowly and the neglected to offer them the places at his banquet table. To them he shows the same generosity.

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- 4) Its numerous footnote references encourage and facilitate research work;
- 5) It makes frequent reference to American civil law, particularly in regard to financial matters and marriage questions;
- 6) Its smooth style and modern language, as well as the clear arrangement of its chapters and paragraphs, make for easy reading and quick understanding.

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The banquet is as rich as before, the welcome as hearty. He will not leave a place vacant in the hall if some pauper out on the dusty street or by the hedges will fill it.

Great is the king's generosity; the perversity of the guests as great. Those first invited make light of the invitation and snub the king; they finally kill his messengers. And a churl brought in from the byways will not wear the wedding garment the royal host provides—the robe which would mark him as friend and guest of his king.

As with the king and his guests in the parable, so with God and the human race in tragic reality. The generosity of the King of Heaven knows no bounds. God raised His creature to the supernatural order, giving him a destiny scarcely less than that of the angels. He called man to be His adopted son, the heir to the joys of His Kingdom. Having given His invitation by revelation and the gift of faith, He smoothed man's way by His Church, by the sacraments, by abundant grace. Going far beyond the king in the parable, the Eternal King sent His own Son as a messenger to show men the way of everlasting life and actually to die for them.

Yet many men reject God's invitation. They are content, they say, without investigating God's revelation. They do not care to belong to Christ's Church and to submit to His commandments. Farm and business and the distractions of daily life are too engrossing. They have no time for the salvation of their immortal souls.

Or, entering the Church, many men remain merely superficial members, claiming in name to belong to Christ but not fulfilling the duties of the Christian. They are like the man without a wedding garment. As he sat among the guests but was not one of them, so these men bear the indelible baptismal character on their souls, but have lost sanctifying grace and are not living members of Christ's Church.

The warning in this stern parable is plain. It is not enough that God calls all men to salvation and that Christ died to redeem every human soul. Each man must cooperate with the Saviour to apply that redemption to himself and win eternal life for his own soul. It does not suffice to belong to the Church. A man must earnestly use the means—the commandments, prayer, the sacraments—to keep his soul vigorously alive in the divine life of grace.

All men are called to eternal happiness. But in response to the call each man must make himself, with God's grace, worthy to be actually chosen for a place in the Kingdom of God.

PAUL A. REED, S.J.

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d, S.J.

FILMS

THE LURE OF THE WILDERNESS
rather unaccountably expends a good deal of effort remaking a story filmed ten years ago as *Swamp Water*. For its locale the picture uses the fascinating Okefenokee swamp region of southern Georgia. The story concerns an intrepid local youth (Jeffrey Hunter) who ventures into the feared and unexplored swamp in search of his dog.

Besides finding the dog, he comes upon a former neighbor (Walter Brennan, playing the part for the second time) who has been hiding out in the swamp since he was falsely accused of murder years before. As a consequence of this encounter, the young man finds his life becoming fuller and more complicated by the minute. In secret partnership with the fugitive he goes fur-trapping among Okefenokee's rich, untapped animal reserves. He incurs the enmity and suspicion of the townspeople. He traces the source of this enmity until it leads him to the real perpetrators of the crime attributed to his partner. And, romance being obligatory, he falls in love with the fugitive's daughter (Jean Peters).

This latter role has been changed from the original with unfortunate effect. Where formerly the heroine was a neglected orphan living off grudging charity in the town, here she has shared her father's exile and emerges as the sort of Amazonian nature girl who would be more at home in a Tarzan picture than in something intended to be taken seriously.

The only change definitely for the better is the photography, which this time is in Technicolor. While director Jean Negulesco takes an inordinate amount of time over a story that is not worth it, the atmosphere and eerily beautiful scenery of the swamp, as caught by the camera, are in themselves a considerable attraction for the family. (20th Century-Fox)

ONE MINUTE TO ZERO is a long, grim, not very convincing story about the early stages of the Korean War. It abounds in shots of the devastating napalm bomb in action, of atrocity victims, individual deeds of heroism, last-ditch stands and crashing airplanes. Some of these shots look like newsreel clips. For a few minutes it dwells on the agonizing decisions of war: its commander is forced to fire on a column of refugees which is being used as a shield by Communist infiltrators.

And gratifyingly—even if a little self-consciously—it attempts occasionally to concern itself with man's dependence on God. All of these things, no doubt, can with profit be better understood by the family.

The picture, however, hangs its points on a Rover Boyish plot which contrives to have two improbable full colonels (Robert Mitchum, William Talman) inventing stratagems and winning battles from one end of the

front to the other. In addition, it involves Mitchum in an equally geography-defying romance with a UN observer (Anne Blyth). As a result, the film has a markedly split personality, and either the horrors or the fictional embellishments are likely to seem gratuitous. (RKO)

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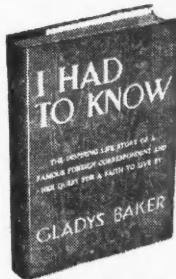
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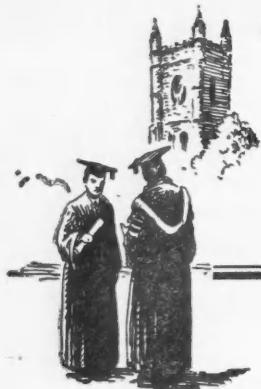
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like hearing him sing—which he does at the drop of a hat. Among his selections are "The Lord's Prayer" (sung at one of those depressing movie church services which seem to equate "religion" with "democracy"), several indifferent modern numbers and a scattering of tenor operatic arias which happened not to be used in *The Great Caruso*.

The plot has to do with the problems of an opera singer who is drafted. His difficulties seem to stem in about equal measure from a temperamental inability to act like a buck private and from the wiles of a poisonous soprano (Paula Corday) bent on breaking up his romance with the vocally ambitious sister (Doretta Morrow) of his top-sergeant (James Whitmore). They have in any case only the remotest connection with the problems of real opera, real army life, real love or real people.

The Technicolor, however, is pretty, Miss Morrow is an eye- and ear-appealing heroine, Whitmore, given a chance, is a good comedian and the picture probably comes under the heading of family entertainment.

(MGM) **MOIRA WALSH**
(AMERICA'S moral approval of a film is always expressed by indicating its fitness for either adult or family viewing. Ed.)

THEATRE

NOTE ON STALE ACTING. José Ferrer's meteoric rise to distinction in the theatrical world, as actor, director and producer, is hardly the result of lucky improvisation. It is more reasonable to assume that he is a thoughtful student of the history and theory of the theatre with his own ideas on the subject, most of which have been tested and proved. Success is not proof of infallibility, however, and his ideas on acting expressed in a recent letter to John Chapman, drama critic of the *New York News*, are open to question.

Mr. Chapman had scolded the actor for "running out" on plays while they were popular with the public, specifically *Twentieth Century* and *The Shrike*, thus depriving those plays of a key performance that had helped to make them hits. Ferrer replies: "I don't like long runs. I get tired of playing the same part over and over. My performance deteriorates and the audience does not get its money's worth from me. Each artist has his or her own way of trying to develop, and mine is to work as often and get as much experience as possible."

It seems to this observer of the stage, to whom the letter was not written, that Mr. Ferrer's reasoning is not flawless. The flaw is that while an actor may feel himself growing stale in a role, people in the audience may not notice his let-down. I saw Mr. Ferrer in his second or third performance of *The Shrike* and thought his handling of the role was skilful and sensitive. I saw Gertrude Lawrence in *The King and I* only a few weeks before her death. She was old in the role and, although no one in the audience knew it, also tired and sick. Nevertheless her performance seemed as fresh and sparkling as Ferrer's in *The Shrike* during the first week.

Mr. Ferrer forgets that while an actor may become bored with a role after playing it, say five hundred times, his five-hundred-first performance is a first-time experience for the majority of the audience. There are some lucky people who have seen *The King and I* several times and perhaps, as the production entered its second season, they noticed that the lustre of Miss Lawrence's performance had become slightly tarnished. Most theatregoers, however, see a production only once; and an actor must be obviously sloppy in handling his part for them to suspect that he is growing stale.

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CORRESPONDENCE

Protest on policy

EDITOR: Just a hearty second to J. A. Wittig's letter published in your issue of Sept. 27. I think a Catholic has a duty to protest when he finds a Catholic magazine attempting to put forward the policy of a particular political party as the teaching of the Catholic Church.

We are fortunate enough to live in a country where the philosophy of the major political parties is not repugnant to Catholic philosophy. It would seem, therefore, that a Catholic publication in this country should show a realization of this fact in its editorial policy. I am sure most of your readers would appreciate a fairer treatment of those who oppose policies of the "Fair Deal."

J. ROBERT DREZ, S.J.
Spring Hill, Ala.

(If our correspondent would specify exactly on what issues he believes that this Review has "put forward the policy of a particular political party as the teaching of the Catholic Church," we would be grateful. AMERICA tries to evaluate policies in the light of sound Christian political and social philosophy, as well as of sound principles of politics, economics, sociology and American constitutionalism. It makes no pretense that its conclusions are "the teaching of the Catholic Church," but only that they are in accord with such teaching. If we have in any way conflicted with Catholic teaching, it would be a service to us and to our readers to specify when and where we have done so. Ed.)

Agreement on filibuster

EDITOR: I am in complete agreement with the position on the filibuster which Father LaFarge so ably presents in his article in the Aug. 30 issue of AMERICA.

ELMER A. CARTER
Commissioner

State Comm. against Discrimination
New York, N. Y.

The Le Moyne Plan

EDITOR: It was encouraging to read about the Le Moyne Plan and its method of teaching theology to Catholic college students in a unified four-year program ("Teaching Christ through the Bible," (AM. 9/27).

My only regret is that the purpose of the course was not more fully treated. A fuller treatment would have dispelled the impression that the

course is directed solely toward personal sanctification. Such a misconception could be derived from what seems to be an exaggerated emphasis on the principles of asceticism taught in the final semester of fourth year.

The goal of the course has wider apostolic social ramifications, which were expressed by Rev. John Courtney Murray, S.J., when he wrote of the specific aim of the layman's theology course as being

that intelligence of faith . . . which is required in order that the laity of the Church may be able effectively to collaborate with the hierarchy in accomplishing the renewal and reconstruction of the whole modern social life (*Theological Studies*, March, 1944).

The text, *Christ as Prophet and King* by Rev. John J. Fernan, S.J., takes a giant stride towards accomplishing this purpose. Moreover, it does explain how asceticism has direct social implications, which are treated explicitly in other college courses.

(REV.) ALFRED R. ORTH, S.J.
Woodstock, Md.

Pre-schoolers' reading

EDITOR: We Catholics are often long on theory, short on practice. Virginia Rohr Rowland's norms for pre-schoolers' education were a succinct, sound and serviceable translation into the language of family life of the American Bishops' 1947 statement on secularism. Would not pastors do well to distribute copies of this mother's article to other parents? N. J. C.

Granite, Md.

EDITOR: After reading "Put God into your child's life," by Virginia Rohr Rowland (AM. 9/20), I want you to know how impressed I was by it and how much I liked it.

I, too, am the mother of two young pre-schoolers and have searched for suitable books to acquaint them, especially my elder child, with God and the saints. Recently I have been using religious calendar pictures.

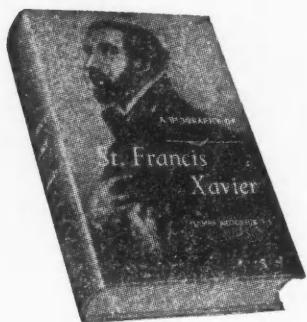
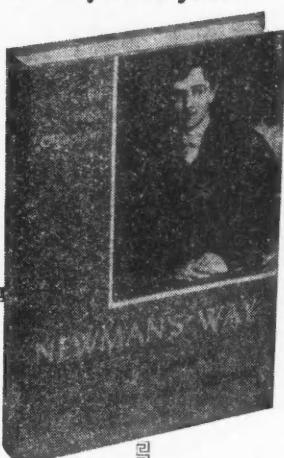
Mrs. Rowland's information and experience certainly brought the problem right home. I know many other mothers who feel the same about it.

It was never my idea that one should wait until the first grade and the nuns to put God into our children's lives. It can and should be done way before that. (MRS.) MARY O'DEA

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